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The United Presbyterian quarterly review

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THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

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EDITED BY DAVID R. KERR;

ASSOCIATED WITH

DRS. J. T. PRESSLY, J. RODGERS AND A. D. CLARK.

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ARTICLE I.—PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY.

It is an essential, and we might say, culpable defect in most of the Histories of Philosophy, that they omit to record, although they unwittingly illustrate and verify a memorable critique on philosophy in its higher departments, published in the first century of the Christian era, in Greece, by a Hebrew of the Hebrews, of which the sum is, that "the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God." This was at that time, and has been ever since, a strange doctrine to most of the world, and its publisher must have been aware that it was not likely to be acceptable to the learned at Corinth or elsewhere. It is, however, the old doctrine of the prophets of his own land, and from the sublime writings of an eminent one of them, he quotes a statement of even stronger import than his own—"the Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise," their reasonings, their theories, "that they are vain."

It is not our purpose to go into a particular analysis of this estimate; but in regard to the extent to which it carries its disparagement, we observe—

1st. That the wisdom, thus lightly esteemed, comprised

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within its range the independent religious literature of the world—that of which human nature is the origin, and reason, imagination, or passion the rule and test. "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" It is evident from this that the wisdom thus characterized was in kind and in repute literary or scientific. It comprised all the recorded and known results of human investigation, the entire attainments of intellect and philosophy, respecting God, the soul, and the relations of the soul to God. The inspired reviewer scrutinized with an impartial eye the whole vast fabric of human knowledge, and all the diverse and discordant systems of philosophy, formed by human reason on these important subjects—he saw clearly the principles and tendency of that wisdom, its power, its workings, and its shortcomings—and, as the minister of truth, he boldly testified in the hearing and to the face of the world, frowning or unheeding, that its wisdom did not reach or lead to the knowledge, enjoyment, and worship of the only true God. "In the wisdom of God," in His estimation, judged by that unerring standard, "the world by wisdom knew not God." The wisdom on which this ignorance is charged could claim, as its own, rich stores of learning, the best fruits of pure reason, the select gatherings of many generations of laborious search into the mysteries of divinity. Philosophy was in its rise theologic, and more so in its progress. Take away theology from the erudition most esteemed and cultivated in the age in which the apos tolic critic indited, and in the countries where he proclaimed its condemnation, and there will be little else than a shrivelled, shapeless outside left. Every religion, and indeed irreligion, must have a creed. Even the skeptic and atheist have each his creed, and may be unfaltering in a bigoted adherence to it. Philosophy, and not Poetry, was the creed of idolatry. Philosophy made the god, gave it its theistic shape: Poetry adorned it, and sang its praise. Platonism was the polite and liberal friend of all the gods, with a warm yearning in its heart towards a mystic pantheistic perfection. It proved to be the most powerful patron of

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Paganism, and most subtle and insidious of the foes which the Gospel had to encounter—more unyielding than idolatry itself.

2d. It is predicated of the wisdom of the world that it is foolishness. Tried in the fire that came down from heaven, it turns out to be dross, and not gold to make men rich towards God. It cannot make men wise unto salvation. It is intrinsically defective, destitute of the elements and properties of wisdom; and, consequently, unfit and unavailing for the ends which must be provided for in that wisdom which man needs. The rigid and fearless critic, in this abasement of the world's wisdom, aimed to have it universally understood, that its influence on those who followed it as their guide, was calculated to lead them astray, and to fatal disappointment in the end. He knew from the recorded experience of a very wise king of Israel, that in much of this wisdom there is, sooner or later, "much grief," and "he that increaseth knowledge" of this kind "increaseth sorrow;" and that, on the other hand, the excellency of sound knowledge is, that wisdom giveth life to them who have it, as a greater than Solomon said in his lofty intercession, looking up to heaven: "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Christ, though the doctrines and facts concerning him were to the philosophic Greeks foolishness, is the power of God, and the wisdom of God to salvation. The wisdom of angels in their first estate, and which sustained their holiness and secured their bliss, when others fell, is suitable and sufficient for them in their condition. But it does not follow, that it would be sufficient for man in the condition in which he is. The wisdom which man needs is that, which, in his imbibing it in the love of its truth, and in his yielding to its dictates and power, will relieve him from the evils to which he is liable, and bring him into a right mind and good state towards God, and ultimately to the enjoyment of the highest good, and to the spontaneous performance of the highest service of which his nature is capable. All wisdom is necessarily practical. It must have a purpose and process, means and end. Specu-

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lative wisdom is a contradiction in terms. The wisdom of God is practical. His manifold wisdom is shown to the principalities and powers in heavenly places by the church, and where they see the wisdom, the truth, and grace of God developed and honored in a church—in its doctrines, institutions, faith and holiness—there the principalities and powers above will see so much of the one visible church, as we, in seeing one star in its seeming ceaseless effort to keep shining and to shine brighter, see in it a part—and a part not differing much from other parts of the one beautiful, catholic starry heavens—all the parts having unity, community, and visibility in the light they emit. So it *is*, and until the day dawn and the shadows flee away, and afterwards so it *will be* with the church—one, ever visible, and having constitutional fellowship in the light of the knowledge of the glory of God. That light does not emanate from nature, nor was it ever reflected or loved by the wisdom of the world.

3d. In the judgment of this evangelic critic, the wisdom under review was so inherently defective, so far from being what it purports to be, that it is not susceptible of improvement, or of change for the better. Viewed in the aggregate, in the sum and summit of its attainments, in all Philosophies in the East and West, sensual and ideal, original and eclectic, it was not then true wisdom in a course of development, and needing only time, pruning, culture, and, as some would say, the aid and alliance of Christianity, to bring it to a useful maturity. It was in no sense an infant of days. The world had seen twice the number of years which it has seen since. Still, its wisdom, instead of being real wisdom in progress, tending to an elevated destiny in the future, and to an expansion of perpetual fruitfulness, was not wisdom in kind, in bud, blade, or flower. It was foolishness. That may increase in extent and strength. But by no dialectic alchemy can it be transmuted into wisdom. Clay may be formed into beautiful and useful vessels, but it cannot grow, nor, by art and man's device, be turned into gold; nor will darkness ever from age become dawn or day to a soul in this world, or in the world to come. This being

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the inane and erroneous nature of the attainments of Philosophy in theology, the conclusion follows, that it is not an auxiliary or servant to Christianity, to true wisdom or religion. Its principles, and those of Christianity, cannot dwell together harmoniously in the same mind. The former must give way before the light and power of the latter. "If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise." The Apostle of the Gentiles, for the utterance of this earnest exhortation, would no doubt be reckoned in all the academic halls and literary circles of Greece, a cynical skeptic or ranting babbler.

This severe and sweeping criticism, in all its length, breadth, and justice, is in entire agreement with the intrinsic and comparative merits of that comprehensive system of evangelic facts and correspondent evangelic doctrines, which in its beneficence aims to supplant the wisdom of the world, and to cast out a pagan theological philosophy from its domination in the minds of men—a domination which it ever strives, by treacherous alliances or by open war, to retain when possessed, and to recover when lost. The judgment of the inspired Apostle is defensible in every part and on every side. After the lapse of centuries it stands unobscured and unshaken in its truth, with accumulated proofs of its soundness and far-sightedness, in the failures, in the extravagancies, in the discords, and in the unsettled and self-unsatisfactory state of theological philosophy in Christian countries at the present time. We only design to make this definitive judgment a starting point to be kept more or less in view in the train of thought pursued in what follows.

It suggests two things directly affecting the credit of human reason.

1st. That human reason with all its powers and faculties was in that age, and had been during many prior ages, very foolishly employed. Why it was so is not here the question. But the fact itself, whatever may be the explanation given of it, can on no tenable grounds be denied. Exer-

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cised reason, genius, intelligence, thoughts in the minds of men, had originated, elaborated, sustained, and made popular, all that reputed wisdom which, on being tested, was ascertained to be the opposite of wisdom. That reprobate wisdom was embodied in the philosophy of the world. Philosophy has been styled the science of reason. Reason is that in the soul of man which thinks. Without thoughts a man cannot know of his reason or existence. As he thinketh in his heart so is he. The faculty of reason, exercised as it was by the men of that past period in their thoughts, in acquiring knowledge, in seeking after wisdom, and in building up philosophy, made them such men as they were. In the times of that ignorance, reason had the same native activeness, powers and capacities, that it now has, and the same external facilities and advantages, except the primary and secondary influences of Christianity. It had its "*a priori* conceptions," its "original beliefs," its "spontaneous intuitions." It had consciousness and conscience—the light and works of nature without, and the work of the law written within the soul; and, everywhere, within and without, the manifestations of the eternal power and godhead, and the revelation of wrath from heaven adverse to all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men. It had prolonged and diversified experience, and had reigned for centuries, without a partner or rival, over all the rival and successive systems of philosophy. It had solved, in one way or another, the "great problems," and always to its own satisfaction; and had been on both sides of almost every question, about being, mind, sense, morals, liberty, necessity, and immorality—reason *versus* reason before the bar of reason, with judgment always in favor of reason, without protest or appeal. Reason was a robust laborer in the head of Pythagoras, of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and other philosophers, known and unknown. It performed a great deal of hard work, and found time for a good deal of play. For a long time before, and for a longer time after Saul of Tarsus began his interference, reason had the free use of a contrivance for ærial voyages, contrived by the wise Socrates, and constructed by his expert pupil, with an append-

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age afterwards affixed to it by a more prudent, logical machinist; it was the famous Platonic balloon, filled with what is lighter than air, with its net of words and car of logic, a most convenient vehicle, answering a purpose which nothing else can answer; and thereby reason, dangling in the ark of bull-rushes, or oftener, in its daring independence, hanging on to the net of words, was swiftly carried, as oft as it chose, by the cheap locomotive power of inflation, far away from the vulgar region of common sense and of mortal vision, yea, and farther still, beyond all the odds and ends of things, all show, limit and relation, into solitudes immense, perchance to examine the bottom of some infinite profundity, or to look at the top of an unconditioned sublimity, or to find out, if possible, a fixed pole-star for theological philosophy; and by all these transcendental excursions and discoveries to enlarge its domains, *ad infinitum*, to the increase of its own glory and of human knowledge on the earth. *Sed cui bono?* With all these advantages then enjoyed, the labors and researches of reason, bearing on religion, resulted only in foolishness, vanity, ignorance, and superstition.

On this point the concessions of modern philosophy go almost to the full extent of the Apostle's criticism. The demand for new principles and new systems of philosophy would not have existed, had not those of the old philosophy been deemed worn out, false, and worthless. Truth is not corruptible, nor is wisdom as a morning cloud, changeable and evanescent.

A pressing exigency, indeed a philosophical necessity, however, urges modern philosophers to determined efforts with a view to the release of reason from the responsibility and discredit inseparable from its intimate and effective connection with the ancient discarded philosophies, as well as with those still prevailing, beyond the boundaries of Christianity, in the oldest settled portions of the globe. Several devices and desperate expedients have been resorted to for this purpose, to which we may in the sequel advert. But we cannot refrain from saying here, that it is unquestionably fair to judge of reason by its works. It is a rule of judgment which reason itself approves in theory, and is ready enough

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to apply abroad, as it is only an application of the primitive belief, or intuition of the relationship of cause and effect. If a man halts in his walking, it is from lameness somewhere in his lower limbs. When the hearing is dull, the organ itself is out of order. So, if the reasonings are false or foolish, it indicates, in the only way in which it can be indicated, that there is fault as well as fallibility in the reason that reasons falsely or foolishly. Reason, coming with a bad grace from the gloom and filth of its old homestead, cannot come with a good grace into the place assigned to it in the new. To take away the strong odor of the old rottonness, mould and death, would require more frankincense and myrrh than philosophy can gather from the four quarters of the globe. This has been seen, and the attempt given up by some, who go off on different routes for the same ultimate end, the vindication of reason from all blame for the state of things that existed in the pagan world.

In one of these routes, rugged and mountainous, paganism is praised, and its vices palliated as the necessary offshoots of a nature yet imperfect and progressive. Those who put in this plea maintain that idolatry is in germ the true religion, incipient Christianity, thus making it to be in early times something like a cabbage in early summer, which is "phenominally" an uncouth weed of useless leaves; but, say the progressive naturalists, it has a good heart, only give it time, and Christian culture, and Christian sunshine, and it will come to a good sound head. Such a head sliced up by logic, and pickled in metaphysics, may be Christianity enough for the taste of a few Germans; and, dressed up with the condiments and spiceries of French skill, Frenchmen may praise it and make it an article of export—who can mistake it for the bread of life? or have any craving for it, unless from an appetite morbid even unto death, or from the lack of experimental acquaintance with good food? But whatever part, agency, or responsibility may be justly attributed to reason in regard to the wisdom that beclouded and befooled the world for so many ages, it is most evident, as we observe—

2d. That the startling truth which the Apostle unveiled

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and set forth was a truth, an absolute truth, which reason did not discern, and of course did not reveal to the minds of mankind. Coming into close contact with that wisdom in the minds of men who gloried in it, reason discovered not its fallacious nature or pervading characteristic. No two things can differ more widely and manifestly than wisdom and folly; yet the world, even its princes in government and its sages in philosophy, saw not the difference, and mistook the one for the other on the largest scale possible. So it was for long, dark, miserable ages. That enormous mistake, that comprehensive and disastrous error, reason did not detect or recognize, although the exigencies of science, on the most important subjects bearing on human welfare and advancement, required that that mistake should be known, and that egregious error be thrown off, as the first step of a movement in the right direction for the attainment of wisdom and the settlement of knowledge on a stable foundation. That spurious wisdom, or genuine foolishness with which the world was filled, and the universal misjudgment concerning it, resided in the minds of men precisely where reason had its work-shop and watch-tower.

When we speak of reason in this argument, we mean reason as it was in the minds of the thinking men of those bygone ages. We do not speak of it as it ought to have been, or as it now may be, in the borrowed and oft-unacknowledged and perverted light of revelation. Nor do we speak of it as it may be shown off in the *studio* of a metaphysical artist, in ideal model, the workmanship of abstruse speculation, the creature of poetic or logical fancy. For it may be as difficult to find a passage from the ideal reason to the real, from the image to the substance, as to find a passage from an ideal world to the world of reality. Impersonal reason is altogether ideal, and never had a reality to fit it, and, of course, there is no passage from it. The faculty of reason is in *persons*; and nowhere else. Where there is reason there is personality; and where there is personality there is reason. Impersonal reason is as unmeaning and absurd as irrational personality. This verbal invention for getting the wheels of this Philosophy out of the mud by destroying

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them, is a specimen of eclectic acuteness and ingenuity; but we do not see that anything can save it from being put where the Apostle put the wisdom of the world.

Furthermore, not only was reason, thus faulty in judgment, seated in the minds of men, but the wisdom, which was the subject of that error, was seated in their reason. How can it be said that reason is an "emanation," a ray, all pure light, from the infinite mind, "one as to substance, consubstantial with the Divine," when it was associated so closely in the very constitution or habitude of the mind with darkness, as not to comprehend that darkness, nor manifest any knowledge of its presence and power? When the light that was in them was darkness, how great was that darkness! If reason in the minds of men be identical in kind with the infinite reason that governs the universe, how comes it to pass that the wisdom of men is foolishness with God, and the wisdom of God is foolishness with men? Applying their reason as a standard or criterion, men reckoned their foolishness to be wisdom, and God's wisdom foolishness. Were human reason, understanding, or intuitional consciousness an adequate, correct, and trustworthy standard of truth, and sure test for the detection of falsehood, would that judgment, involving the greatest possible error in regard to absolute and eternal verities, have been formed at first, and then persisted in theoretically and practically for thousands of years, running into the Christian era and down into the past years of the present century?

There is nothing in the decision of the apostolic censor, in import or terms, to confine its application to any particular age, or country, or continent. No one can call in question the justice of its application to by far the largest portion of the earth's population at the present time, especially to Asiatic nations, whose ancient philosophy, even in rotten traditional remains, continues in the stupid forms of the religions it founded.

It may not, however, be deemed fair to judge of human reason by its worst works, or to look at it in its decrepitude, in its old age, and on its sick-bed, in order to estimate its native strength and accuracy of vision. Look, it may be

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said, to Christian countries, where since the revival of learning philosophy has so signally flourished. Go to ancient Greece, in modern Germany, where philosophy stands forth in the fullness of its strength, and in all the sublimity of its aspirations, with its head above every thing, and its foot on every thing, and its finger on the pivot of the universe, in the attitude of teaching a benighted world, where wisdom is to be found, and where is the place of understanding. Without going thither, yet with an eye thitherward, we will say that the wisdom of the world, in its brightest days, the days of its greatest foolishness, was much inclined to be religious, if it could only find or fix upon a religion to suit it—and philosophy had always a great fondness for a theology of its own making. This is preëminently true of modern philosophy in its rise and spread. How much of its theology is made up of the dust and debris of the old fallen fabric, is a question we leave for the historian to settle. Whatever may be the truth as to that matter, it is very evident that philosophy, aspiring to completeness, universality, and unity, has taken theology to a warm place under its wings, and its votaries have given forth in terms not equivocal, and in tones not meek and dove-like, that the Bible, unless under the overshadowing wings of philosophy, is of little worth and of no efficiency or practical use for the great end at which it aims. It may be well to look under its wings, at the secret hiding of its vaunted power to make God's word living and powerful. We need not stop to sift into separate piles the distinctive principles of all, or any, of the various systems of philosophy, so that, by an examination of that wherein they differ, and of that wherein they agree, we might prove what the advocates of the systems will, as to the premises, assent to, that in this enlightened age philosophy is the highest wisdom of the world, and, therefore, comes within the grip of the Apostle's criticism, and verifies it.

We shall now look, as we just proposed, at the standard fixed on and set up by philosophy for the ascertainment of truth. What is it? Where is it to be found? What is the authority that ordained it?

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The rule of that faith which stands not in the wisdom of men but in the power of God—the only rule of faith in the church of God—is well known. The Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, preface or appendix, are the authoritative, sufficient, and infallible rule of faith and duty.

That they are a revelation from God to man, we believe on the ground of their own independent testimony to that effect, having in themselves their true history and evidence.

From the Scriptures alone we learn that they are the only adequate and reliable rule of faith.

They reveal what we are, therefore, obligated to believe on all matters of which they treat, and to believe with an assurance of their truth answerable to the veracity of God speaking in the revelation itself.

Subsidiary and concurrent testimony, historical and traditionary, to the Divine authenticity of the Bible, important and useful as it is in its place, is no part of the Bible, and no part of the rule of faith. That the Bible is God's word in virtue of its inspiration, is a fundamental doctrine, an article of faith, embraced in the rule of faith itself, and is therein certified to by independent, internal evidence, with a fullness which leaves no lack to be supplied, and with an authority which cannot be made stronger. To deny this self-evidencing power to the word of God is virtually to nullify it as a rule of faith altogether. For in the absence of *that*, it would be defective in what is essential to its nature and validity, and it would, of necessity, be fallible in all respects throughout. A fallible rule is tantamount to no rule. The fatal, practical effect follows, without the possibility of hindrance, that the Bible vitiated in this respect, in ceasing to be the only supreme and perfect rule of belief and opinion on the matters of which it treats, is laid aside as of no decisive authority. This effect follows with superadded mischief, when the Bible is displaced, that it may be supplanted, or made subordinate to some other rule claiming to be the ultimate and perfect rule. This was done by the Gnostic Philosophy, in its successful efforts to subject the Bible to *knowledge* drawn from other sources, thereby subverting its authority; and in the end, as an escape from

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uncertainty and skepticism, producing infallible tradition, an infallible church, and an infallible hierarchy with, or without, an infallible Pope. Faith in that infallibility is nothing but skepticism chained and asleep in a dungeon.

Theological Philosophy professes not only to have a rule of faith of its own, but the ultimate and decisive rule, superior in perfection and paramount in authority to every other—comprehending within its scope all truth and all possible knowledge, and, of course, taking cognizance in its universality of the Holy Scriptures, their authenticity, facts, and doctrines. Such a supreme and universal rule or standard—one coming up to these high claims and pretensions—must, 1st, Itself certify; it must have independent, internal evidence that it is such a rule. If it goes out, or points out of itself for a settlement of that matter, or, if a definitive judgment, of what is essential to its own nature, lie outside of itself, it owns its incompetency, and becomes self-impeached as a judge. Should it, for a decision on the vital point of its authority, appeal to Scripture, tradition, logic, or to the hoary-headed fitness of things, in the very appeal, as an ultimate and sufficient rule, it goes overboard into the deep.

2d. A rule of faith and standard of truth of this kind must have an intelligence in it to an extent beyond which understanding cannot go. It must be an universal oracle, and reveal all truth. Whatever comes up to the standard —whatever may agree with what is the rule, or may be evolved from it, is truth—worthy of faith, and of a place in science—all else is refuse. It sets itself up to be the governmental mint, where all the gold and silver in the universe is accurately assayed, and where is stamped all the coin, genuine and current, in the world of thought.

3d. It must be perfectly accurate, free from all liability to error. If there should be error inherent in it, or arising from it, how could that be known or corrected, there being no other or better test than the one at fault. Here there seems to be some room in the higher regions of theological philosophy for blind implicit faith, unless a superlative logic provide a standing for rational faith in such an emer-

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gency by some expedient for joining the fallible to the infallible, so that by the continuity the fallible might become infallible. Something of this kind has been attempted. It is a little in advance of the process by which the finite has been logically linked to the infinite, or, as it might be in Latin, to an *infinitum*, or *infinitam*, or to neuter *infinitum*, without doing any injury to the reasoning, or making the least jar in the logic.

4th. A philosophy which is theological in its principles and tenor, or becomes so by its overflowings beyond its own natural channel, if it have a consistent rule, adapted to that important department of truth and knowledge, must have one which in itself authenticates, or has internal and adequate evidence, that it is enacted and ordained by God to be the final and definite rule. A rule, a law, a revelation, a standard, does not make itself. It is made by competent wisdom and authority. Philosophy has no right to make the high and comprehensive standard of all truth, or to modify it, to add to or take from it. It must, with all its validity and finality, be in force and in use when philosophy on the footstool begins to learn the alphabet. If such a general ordained standard exists; if God has put it on record anywhere in nature, it must be looked for among the original beliefs, and as their rule also. Is it to be found there? If so, being a great law framed and recorded by God, there must be accountability to him for the use and application of it. Were such a law-standard of all truth in existence, without accountability resting on those under it, it would shut out the Lawgiver from all moral relation to the word; and if men believe it to be in force, and that accountability is not connected with it, they will soon turn the law itself into a divinity, a god or goddess.

Now, if modern philosophy know of a rule of faith, a standard of truth professing these necessary and essential elements, we might ask, Where has it been followed? Where has it been recognized? We might demand the external evidences which historical and traditional testimony furnishes in favor of its claims. But we only ask, Where is it now to be found, discerning the evil from the good,

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separating truth from falsehood, chasing away darkness and diffusing light, weighing the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? To say that its place is in the human soul is a very indefinite answer—for there are many souls on the face of the earth. Is it in each of them, one and the same in all? In point of fact, will, self-will, passion, appetite, and, as to multitude, the lowest instincts, govern the world. Is the supreme standard of truth, the sure rule of faith and morals, to be sought for in the rational faculties? These all men naturally possess; and as these have proved powerless for good, and powerful for the furtherance of error and wrong in multitudes, it is not owing and attributable to the faculties themselves that they have not been so in all. It will not avail to relieve reason from the discredit reflected on it by its works, to revive in another form the old idea of the two adverse principles, by slipping in the epithets, "right" reason, "true" reason, "enlightened" reason—for, of course, if reason is the rule of right it must be right—if it is the standard of truth, it must be invariably true—if it enlightens, it must be enlightened. The necessity which calls for the use of the qualifying epithets, proves that reason is liable to be in the wrong and in the dark, and not always reliable. We have not turned aside to consider the office and functions of reason in its own proper sphere. We do not deny reason. It belongs to the soul: it is God's work and gift, and his word addresses our reason. But can it do the work and discharge the office to which philosophy appoints it?

All systems of philosophy inside and outside of Christendom that have in them, negatively or positively, the theological element, the sensational, the ideal, the sceptical and mystic, are rationalistic. The wisdom of the world is so. They all make the essence and evidence of truth to consist in its conformity to something in the intellectual nature of man, which determines that conformity. But as to what that something is, they give no unanimous or very clear deliverance. It is said in general to be reason. But what is reason in the capacity of a standard of truth, and a reliable guide to rectitude? It is merely the mental faculty, or a

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judgment of the understanding, a dialectic process; or, is it after all the ancient *gnosis* of the Gnostics—*knowledge* in one form or another—knowledge made up of ideas innate, or ideas clear and distinct, or universal and necessary? Or, is all truth to be judged of by common sense, or general consent of mankind? Of what use or availability is that rule to an individual unlearned in philosophy? Are primary beliefs the rule and elementary creed of all beliefs? What is there in them as simple beliefs to make them of more authority than what belongs to secondary or subsequent beliefs? Faith is not a rule of faith. All belief is seated in the rational mind; and in that respect all faith is rational. In every belief the matter of belief is recognized by reason as being true. No man believes what he knows is false. Still, men may not believe what is true and evident. They may believe a lie, and the lie is seated in their knowledge—assuming the form and usurping the place of truth—and that knowledge is seated in their reason. Original beliefs, as beliefs of reason, manifest that, in regard to them, reason is under a rule of faith which it cannot annul or evade, in the clear self-evidence of the great truths believed, as that self-evidence is embodied in the revelation which God makes of these truths to human knowledge in the realities of nature where they are found. Evidence is the ground of belief. "Reason itself must rest at last upon authority; for the original data of reason do not rest upon reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself. These data are, therefore, in rigid propriety, *beliefs or trusts.* Thus it is, that in the last resort we must, perforce, philosophically admit that belief is the primary condition of reason, and not reason the ultimate ground of *belief.*"* Under that rule, and by the force of the inherent evidence that belongs to truth, a man may be constrained to believe primary moral truths, which he hates and dreads, which he is loth to know, strives to forget, and would, if possible, forget forever. They may be forgotten partially and for a time—may indeed be "held

* Sir William Hamilton, Reid's Works, Note A., Sec. 5.

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in unrighteousness"—but can never be erased from the tablet on which they are inscribed. These involuntary beliefs have, therefore, been well called indestructible; they are so, because the rule of them is ever present and imperative. We have ventured, perhaps with temerity, into the vexed and still open question in regard to what are called *a priori* conceptions. But we must go on, though hurriedly. There are ideas which have priority as to their rise in the mind, and some of them as to their moral importance. But we can see no ground on which to claim for the human mind a knowledge, called intuitive, that amounts to foreknowledge, or a set of ideas having in them the full nature of exact presentiments. Men are not naturally inspired. Reason in the souls of men is not an oracle, much less an omniscient and independent oracle. What it knows it learns. Its rudimentary knowledge is acquired. It is not within the capacity and natural ability of the human intellect to know, of and by itself, abstract, absolute verities. Without communication, in some way mediate or immediate, with a veritable reality, spiritual or material, or without reference to the evidence looking forth from and manifesting a reality, the mind cannot know the verity that natively and inseperably belongs to that reality, whether the verity be one of essence, relationship, quality, or quantity. Reason has no *a priori* conception of *reason*, of *thought*, of *life*, of *will*, and such like, and knows nothing of these mysterious verities, except in the concrete, and as they are realized in the first instance in man's own person, and even then, with all the advantage of close contact and intimate experience, these verities are but imperfectly known. The mind, in an attempt to comprehend or define either of them, has to grapple directly with the mysterious, yet certain and everpresent correspondent reality. A man cannot know the fundamental verity that he has reason, except in the veritable fact that he has it. His idea of his own existence is only gained, as it is suggested by his actual existence. The truth of knowledge is founded on the truth of what really is, and is as it is, aside from knowledge. There is no ground on which

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to predicate a capacity in the mind of knowing in and of itself, and without relation to any objective evidence and manifestation, since there is no possible occasion or opportunity for the exercise of such a capacity, even in regard to the highest truths, such as are eternal and unchangeable. Reason can have no idea of Divinity independently or irrespectively of the manifestations which God makes of himself. It certainly never was and never can be in a condition to test its ability in this respect by trial. "Because that which may be known of God is manifested *in* them, for God hath showed it unto them;" that is, in the works of nature. "For the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead." Rom. i. 19, 20. What are the works of nature? Man, and all that pertains to man, soul and body, in his essential faculties and necessary relations, must be considered a constituent part of nature. Human nature is truly a part of nature, and is comprised in the created universe. The brightest portion of all nature, in which God reveals more of himself to man than in any other part, is man, made at first after His image, which, in its renewal, is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him who created him. Here the soul finds itself and the body to which it is united an inseparable part of nature. Here there is no wide chasm between the ideal and real; and the verities embraced in ideas are perceived and apprehended with more or less distinctness by the mind, as they are self-evident in the essential realities of man's created nature by which they are manifested. The moral truths, known and acted upon in the department of natural conscience, have their first manifestation and evidence in "the work of the law," written by the hand of God, the Creator, in the hearts of men—a record *read*, but not *written*, by reason. Intuition, insight, introspection, looks at this law—reason in the souls of men reads it, ponders it, not as a law enacted by itself, but as a law to which it is subject, having in it the authority of the invisible Lawgiver. Without this view of the Divine origin and authority of the law written in men's hearts, making a

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difference between right and wrong, there could be no conscience, no idea of accountability, no fear of wrath from heaven for misdeeds. The knowledge as well as the belief of these truths of which men are conscious, more or less, is grounded on evidence discerned by reason, in their own nature, as creatures fearfully and wonderfully made. To ask how reason discerns moral truths, discoverable by the light of nature, is to ask why reason is reason, or intellect intelligent. How reason apprehends in thought the truth of a self-evident proposition, or of a demonstration, or indeed any manifest truth, we know not. Without reason there can be no understanding, and as a man's reason is, so is his understanding; and, we might say, so is his knowledge. Why reason does not apprehend more, and to better purpose, when there are such manifestations of God in the manifold works of creation—why ignorance instead of knowledge in regard to God has the preponderance in the minds of men, may be traced to the fact, attested by the whole history and universal experience of the race, that there is something wrong in the human soul, that "the understanding is darkened," the mind carnal—leading it to dislike the knowledge of God and to change the truth of God into a lie. Still, even those who are a law unto themselves, do show the work of the law, when they do by nature the things contained in the law. Impaired as is their intel lectual and moral nature in its alienation from the life of God, the moral law, obscured but not obliterated, belongs to their nature. God with an authority, which created reason recognizes, speaks in nature, in the constitution of the soul itself, coming nearer to man therein than in the rest of nature, the conscience also bearing witness; and then man is hedged round about and chained down in personal accountability under that law to the invisible Lawgiver by the conviction equally settled in the mind of every man, the quenchless conviction of his complete individuality, and of his fixed and incommunicable relation to his own thoughts, feelings, and actings. Without consciousness, there can be no personality; and take away reason, and both these disappear. A man's person is the original, the reality of the

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ineffaceable image which he sees when he sees himself portrayed on the living canvas of his consciousness, himself always the same and not another—his soul, his faculties, thoughts, feelings, and works entirely his own, and not those of another. Rationality is essential to personality, as life is to activity. Whatever a cold, speculative philosophy may say to the contrary, reason, in regard to the simplest principles of religious knowledge, owns an authority above and beyond itself, and takes up its primitive moral belief on the ground of evidence discerned, as it is furnished in the revelation which God makes in nature. We mean here reason, intelligence, as it is in the soul of every man an essential attribute, or faculty of human nature, and all persons possess what is essential to their common nature.

But existent nature, with its laws, properties and relations, is not all there is "of God," making him known in this world. There are providential works. God has not left himself without a witness. The earth is full of his riches, and men, under the darkness of paganism, have owned a supreme power with thanksgiving under remarkable deliverances. Besides, there are marked events and dispensations, indicating a supernatural intelligence, righteousness and wrath, works and acts, of which individuals and nations in all ages have been sensitively observant, driving proud monarchs and mighty nations in pagan countries to their oracles, augurs, and altars, quaking with fear. Do these works offer no lessons worthy of the notice of philosophy? Is death, that terrible, mysterious verity, to be overlooked as of no philosophical value or moral import, coming as it does with its sting, and opening the grave with its destruction, in direct disapppointment of the longings and confident anticipations of human consciousness?

It is not necessary, in the first place, to prove the Divine authenticity of the Book of Nature, in order to make its teachings, such as they are, credible. Its authenticity is ascertained where the truths it reveals are learned, in the book itself. The former is seen in seeing the latter. So with providence. The great abiding proof of providence, and that it is of God, is providence itself. But if a man should

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have all the knowledge that can be gained by the light and teaching of nature and common providence, still that knowledge would be far from being sufficient, far from being what he needs for his peace in his relations to God, which in that knowledge would be necessarily unveiled to his view.

Intuitional theology, which is little else than infidelity under an old form revived, in accordance with its fundamental principle, that reason has the power of knowing all necessary and essential truths by its own insight, in and of itself, independently of everything visible and invisible outside of itself, maintains further, that "reason is a revelation of God in man," "an inspiration." According to this presumptuous sentiment, inspiration comes neither by the will of man nor the will of God, but belongs to reason of its own right and of necessity; and reason in its being reason, must be an inspired revelation. As all men have reason, all men are inspired. We need not say, that this sets aside all true and special inspiration of holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, ignores the personality of the Holy Ghost, and makes the authority of God in the Scriptures nothing but the authority of reason in man. When it said "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," it means that it was given by reason. In the view of this theological philosophy, Plato was as much inspired as Paul; and it draws more from the writings of the Philosopher than it does from the Epistles of the Apostle. Having said so much bearing on this claim of reason, we need say little more. If reason be a revealer of all truth worth knowing, to what or to whom is that revelation immediately addressed? Is reason in the mind a revelation to the man? To what else in a man than his reason, can that revelation convey its message and withhold its mysteries without loss or deterioration? Reason reveals to reason, inspired reason reveals to inspired reason. So far, all is safe and unmarred. But how are the contents of this pretended revelation to get out of the inspired circle? It is not easy to see how a full fountain can empty itself into itself; and equally difficult to see how its waters can flow forth through earthly

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channels without partaking in some degree of the impurities of the earth. The intuitional or introspective theologians, say, "Oh, we admit that there is a Book of Nature, and, if you please, a Book of phenominal providence, and let it be granted that there is an outward written revelation, and that the sacred Scriptures are inspired." Still these books, especially the last, need a reliable interpreter, that can give the sense by inspiration on all matters moral, divine, essential and eternal, about as well as the prophets and apostles themselves, and that, too, without borrowing any idea in the way of trust from their writings, or, as they did, comparing spiritual things with spiritual, with this advantage to Philosophy and Christianity, in their having thereby a common ground of certitude and assurance. Reason is the infallible interpreter of Nature, Providence and Scripture,—in itself "a true and proper revelation." What can we reply to all this? There may have been something of this philosophy at Corinth, leading the Apostle to remark, "Every one hath a doctrine, a revelation, an interpretation." We beg our readers to ask the rationalist how he gets out of the circle of inspiration. That is the point. We cannot see that he can get out at all without breaking it in pieces. If reason is a true and proper revelation, it needs itself an inspired interpreter; and as it is inward and unwritten, and professes to be universal, it certainly needs it as much as any revelation possibly can. Without such an interpreter, their unwritten revelation lacks the very thing which they allege the written revelation needs, and which they set themselves to the work of supplying. Let them apply the reasoning, which they use in regard to the Bible, to their own revelation. We may justly hold them to it. Where can you find the necessary interpreter? Is your reason also the interpreter?—then the interpretation is inspired, and you are still within the circle. If you stop here, then your revelation is its own interpreter. May not the word of God be its best interpreter. But what you concede not to the inspired Scriptures, you must not claim for your inspired reason. The difficulty remains the same in the end that it was at the start. There is not, in reality, a *higher* or a *lower* reason.

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Reason is one, as the intellect or the soul is one and indivisible. To call the understanding the lower reason is an admission, that without reason there is no understanding, and that without understanding there is no reason. There are diversities of mental operations, but the same mind. It is not denied that the understanding is imperfect and fallible. It may be right and it may be wrong. So reason may be right and may be wrong. Even this Philosophy must admit that *personal, individual, human* reason may err. As for *impersonal* reason, it is a nonentity. It has only a philosophical existence. But let it be granted that it is a reality, that it is a divine revelation, how does its divine authenticity and its title to supreme authority appear? Is this evident from the book itself "in the mysterious intuitions that come forth from that *locus principiorum,*" that storehouse of "eternal verities?" If so, then the intuitionalist believes that his reason is an infallible revelation because it is inspired; and he believes it is inspired because his reason reveals it. We have not space to show, our readers will see themselves, how this sets aside most of the reasoning which this philosophy employs to invalidate the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, as a sufficient, complete and final ground of faith as to all matters of which they treat. They have abundant external evidence that they are the Word of God; but the main decisive evidence is in the Word itself; in its self-evidencing divinity, inspiration and truth. The intuitionalist has his external evidence. The understanding is what he calls the lower reason, and that forms no part of his revelation, for that is human, fallible, and not altogether trustworthy. Still he employs very freely the understanding, the logical faculty, in his attempts to prove the fullness, perfection and supremacy of his inward unwritten revelation, his infallible higher reason. Indeed without his understanding, he cannot know that he has reason, or that there is such a revelation. All men have reason, intellect, and it may be exercised in reading and understanding the book of nature, the book of providence and the book of the two Testaments. But has human reason a book of its own, "a deep place of intuitions," *a locus principiorium,* an uncreated light, or "immortal ideas and

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telescopic eye" according to the Philosophy of Socrates, as satirized by Aristophanes in his *Comedy of the Clouds*? Must reason first discover in its own inward arcanum and resources what is essential in the other revelations, before it can know with certainty what they reveal? Reason, in and of itself, knows nothing of this pretended book. No man, by a mere act of direct intuition, or by reason gazing at reason face to face, ever discovered that he had reason; a man becomes aware of it, he learns it in his being conscious of thought, of reasoning, and volition. These are the evidences which his rational nature furnishes of its rationality, and his reason understands how the case stands and believes that truth. The greatest thinker of modern times knew of his own existence only by thought. That, too, evidenced his rational existence. So it is with all men, and without respect to the character of the thoughts—they may be irregular, good or bad—the reasonings may be trivial or false. If reason has or may have an intuitive knowledge of all necessary and eternal verities, why not of other verities.

Philosophical inquiry in its pryings, has wandered long and far in search of a pure fountain-head and sure ground of knowledge, but has gathered only vain imaginations back of the actual knowledge of the truths comprised in primitive beliefs. Let Philosophy own and ponder well the great truths which reason recognizes concerning God, the soul, and the relations of the soul to God, and the rational conclusion will be that God himself teaches man that terrible knowledge, "who teaches us more than the beasts of the field and makes us wiser than the fowls of heaven." But if a restless and false philosophy proudly turns its back on these recognized moral truths and refuses to bow down, trembling before God, where reason owns him—what then? The foolish heart is darkened. But it cannot blot out the sense of a God. It must have a God; and even in sight of the Sinai of primitive beliefs, philosophy will deify *ideas* and bow down to stocks and stones, or it will deify *reason* without image or altar; and something like this is done by a philosophy which teaches as Cousin has done: "Reason is a revelation, a necessary and universal revelation, which is wanting to no

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man, and which enlightens every man on his coming into the world. Reason is the necessary mediator between God and man, the Logos of Pythagoras and Plato, the Word made flesh, which serves as the interpreter of God and the teacher of man, Divine and human at the same time. It is not, indeed, the absolute God in his majestic individuality, but his manifestation in spirit and in truth; it is not the Being of beings, but it is the revealed God of the human race."

We need to remember the earnest warning of the Apostle as timely and authoritative now as it ever was. "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Col. ii. 8. That injurious philosophy was substantially the same that is now disseminating itself in the country. Platonism was pagan in its use of principles. It is pagan still. Let the ministers of Christ be on their watch and guard. "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science, falsely so-called." 1 Tim. vi. 20.

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Article II.—Forbearance.

In accordance with the frailties and imperfections of man, the supreme Lawgiver requires the exercise of forbearance in all our social relations. If the descendants of Adam were pure and perfect, as their original head and representative in his state of probation, there would be no place for the law of forbearance among the human family. Sin, however, generated depravity of heart, and thereby impaired man's intellectual powers in the perception of duty; and by its deadening influences man lost all his moral ability to serve and obey God. Though the fall did not change man into any other species of being, yet it disqualified him for both the service and enjoyment of God. Represented by Adam in the federal transaction with God, "we sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression."

Through Christ, the second Adam, life and immortality are proclaimed in the Gospel; pardon is promised to the penitent sinner; and every possible inducement to repentance is offered. The Holy Ghost, as a spirit of prayer to lead us into all truth, is offered; and, though we are weak, yet we have a promise of strength.

The infirmities and frailties of man in seeking to obtain enjoyment from God, induce him to make many mistakes about the details of duty. Though born again; though justified by the righteousness of Christ imputed and received by faith; though sanctification may have, by the Spirit of God, been progressing in the soul; yet through the power of Satan, in blinding our minds, and the feeble action of the gracious principle implanted in regeneration, "we see, but darkly, as through a glass;" walking by faith and not by sight.

Christ's family, in their spiritual infancy, are strikingly

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represented by the blind man, who, on the reception of his sight, exclaimed, "I see men as trees walking." He had been born blind, and consequently was deprived of the power of comparison, so far as the visual organ is concerned. In his state of blindness he had no just conception of hights and distances; and hence his exclamation, expressive of his confusion of ideas, when he first opened his eyes on the things around him. But a little exercise of the eye in surveying the material world enabled him to distinguish with accuracy. In like manner, until the children of God have their spiritual powers exercised, they cannot properly discern the doctrines of faith, nor perceive the necessity of a holy life and conversation. But, though their vision in the commencement of their Christian course is generally both indistinct and circumscribed, yet, when they furnish evidence to the door-keepers of the house of God that they have had a sight of their own forlorn condition under the law, and of the scheme of redemption from its curse, and express a desire to glorify God, by waiting on him in all his ordinances, which make wise unto salvation, there is no authority in the word of God to debar such from the privileges of his house.

The social relations of man may be reduced to two classes —natural and conventional—and in each of these the law of God requires forbearance to be exercised in love. The terms parent and child are correlative, and express a relationship founded in nature. The duties of parent and child are prescribed in the Bible. The parent may not provoke his child to wrath lest he should be discouraged; but in compassion he is bound to bear with the foibles of youth; and on the other hand, the child, especially in non-age, is obliged to reverence and obey parental authority. Such is the will of God in regulating this most important relation. Without the exercise of forbearance in love, the domestic hearth would, from the many and peculiar duties of the relationship, soon become a place of strife in which crimination and recrimination would be staple commodities.

The marriage relation also demands from the parties to the contract the exercise of forbearance in love. The many

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family broils, which often terminate in the separation of husband and wife, generally have their origin in disappointed expectations, concerning ideal perfection. Christian forbearance in this relation is often required in order to insure domestic happiness; and its exercise is implied in the nuptial covenant. The husband is explicitly bound to act benevolently towards his wife—to conceal her foibles from every other—to exercise forbearance in love towards her in everything not involving a palpable violation of the law of God; and, on the other hand, she thus protected, honored, and esteemed, is obliged to reverence and obey her husband. If one of the parties exacts too much from the other, and thereby acts in violation of the law of forbearance, the results are and must be an alienation of affection on the part of the one whose rights are invaded.

Mutual forbearance is required of the different members composing the body politic. In the formation of every State constitution, where conflicting national interests are apparent—and these not involving a dereliction from moral order, but confined to municipal regulations—mutual concessions for the good of the whole are duties belonging to every good citizen. No confederation can bind the conscience in opposition to the law of God; nor can the Christian, in consistency with his profession of faith in Christ, and in the preservation of a good conscience before God, knowingly act in opposition to the higher law. Such subjects, however, as the development of the material resources of the State, and the best manner of accomplishing these objects—the education of youth, whether by voluntary contributions, or by legislative enactments, so far as support for schools is concerned; and the supervision of these, whether by the parents of each school district, or by directors elected, for the purpose of attending to the education of our youth, are matters about which there may be a great diversity of views innocently entertained; and on all such subjects the law of forbearance binds every citizen. In all questions of State, involving purely metaphysical, not moral differences, no man has a moral right to withhold his active support from the legally expressed will of the majority. Though in

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the body politic there may be many things, according to our apprehension, wrong—if these belong to the class of metaphysical and not moral,—we must exercise forbearance in love towards those who view the same things from another stand-point, and arrive at conclusions very different from ours. But constitutional compromises which involve a violation of the moral law, in order to preserve a good conscience, cannot be supported by the intelligent Christian. In the circumstances, being with a minority of the nation, and the weapons of his warfare being spiritual, he is in duty bound to utter his protest against the dishonor done to Christ, the Governor among and over the nations, and then passively acquiesce, awaiting the developments of Divine Providence.

In ecclesiastic society the social principle is developed in its brightest ornaments. In other society its members are primarily engaged about matters appertaining to this life; and the principle of selfishness, together with the more boisterous passions incident to our frail humanity, are, alas, too often exhibited; but the church is a school of intellectual and spiritual instruction, and, consequently, its legitimate tendency is to enlighten and purify the heart.

Every other society, whether its relationships are natural or conventional, is designed of God to be subservient to the church. The society of the domestic hearth, though founded on natural principles, as distinguished from federative, is the most important of all the elements of prosperity or adversity to the visible kingdom of Christ. By the appointment of God in the person of the father, civil society and its rulers are placed in the position of guardians to the church. She is the accredited agent in the world's redemption from the debasement of sin; and every other institution of Heaven is bound to afford her encouragement and protection in her labor of love.

The church, however, is a kingdom which extends over all. It knows and acknowledges no boundaries but the utmost limits of the habitable earth. Its subjects are men, and women, and children, of every kindred and nation under heaven. Some of these, from the circumstances sur-

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rounding them in youth, receive but little mental training; and though, in after life, they may give evidence of a change of heart, and exhibit to the church such a life and conversation as to entitle them to communion in sealing ordinances, yet, from the want of early mental culture, they remain children in knowledge, and demand from their more enlightened brethren the exercise of forbearance in love. We have the high example of Paul, in his letter to the Romans, for admitting such to the communion of saints. Rom. xiv. 1. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." There is not, there cannot be any uniform standard of knowledge by which every applicant for communion in the church must be judged. It would be spiritual tyranny, on the part of the office-bearers in the house of God, to require an absolute approval from him who is weak in the faith of doctrines which he could not be supposed to understand. High attainments in both doctrine and practice are desirable, and ought to be diligently sought after; but how few advance beyond what be the first principles of the oracles of God! Beyond all question, we are prone to adhere to a few radical principles—such as the incarnation and headship of Christ—without filling up the outline, and thereby going on to perfection. Well, those in Zion who are farther advanced in heavenly knowledge and experience must bear in love with their brethren, weak both in faith and practice; and while they are diligently striving after the completion of their own sanctification, they must also labor and strive for the salvation of their weak brethren. Christ says he hates putting away; and, in the exercise of love, the officers of the church must imitate the high example of their ascended Lord.

But the more intelligent members of the church, according to the laws of her organization, are bound to exercise forbearance in love towards one another. Forbearance among intelligent individuals, and all equally pious, is very different from forbearance towards the illiterate and less favored in society. With the latter class it is generally exercised, because their understandings are not enlightened; and the possession of faith, though weak, is discoverable by

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their acts of piety. They give evidence of walking according to the measure of their attainments; and their many imperfections in duty excite the sympathy of their brethren in Christ, rather than their severe criticisms. The former are supposed to know their duty,—and what Israel ought to do,—and furnish unmistakable evidence of their attachment to the cause of Christ; but, from certain modes of early training, they differ in manner of expression from the teachings of the church. The forbearance here is not about facts—but the manner of their exhibition—and things circumstantial or transient. The duty of the church, for instance, in exhibiting the doctrine of public, social covenanting is not called in question, but, on the contrary, maintained; yet there is room for diversity of sentiment respecting the times and manner of performing the duty. Some intelligent and devoted Christians believe that we engage in acts of public, social covenanting every time we occupy a place at the sacramental table, and we are not called upon in any other manner, publically, to give ourselves to the Lord. This class of believers admit the duty of public, social covenanting with God in Christ, and their diversity of opinion as to the manner and times of performing the duty aright, ought to be no stumbling-block in the way of coöperation and communion in the church. It is enough that believers, in order to communion and fellowship, may be able to affirm the doctrines of grace and salvation as set forth in the orthodox formularies of the church, without affirming the manner of each or any of the propositions. A scientific analysis of the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, larger and shorter, furnishes us with no less than *four thousand distinct propositions.* On these, in the Christian Church, there is a general, not an absolute agreement. They cover the whole system of redemption, and the entire duty of man; but good and orthodox as are the Westminster Standards, it is not known that any church, in receiving to her communion, or administering the seals of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, requires an absolute approval of these formularies. It is right that every individual entering Christ's fold should absolutely and unquali-

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fiedly declare, *ex animo*, his belief that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the word of God, and our rule of faith and practice; but no intelligent Christian would receive the best formularies, which the church could produce, in the same manner he received the word of God. The Bible is assented to, whether we understand its teachings or not, because the Divine veracity, and not our knowledge, is the foundation of an absolute belief in the word of God. We, however, receive and approve of the doctrines contained in our judicial exhibitions of truth, so far as we understand the same, believing said doctrines to be in conformity with the Scriptures. The unerring standard—the word of God—is our absolute term of communion in the church; and, concerning its doctrines and practices, there is no forbearance required. The infidel has no part in the kingdom of God. We cannot, however, with a pure conscience receive, as containing our confession or testimony for Christ, any human production, only so far as we are acquainted with and understand the same. There is, necessarily, here a wide range for the exercise of forbearance in love among the most intelligent and pious of Christ's flock. The church has no authority from Christ, her lawgiver, to introduce into the terms of her fellowship any proposition but what is palpably founded upon the word of God; and it is as much her duty to exhibit the doctrine of Christian forbearance towards brethren weak in the faith, and also the exercise of the same grace towards the intelligent in all matters not affecting the truths of the Bible, as it is on her part a duty to teach the headship of Christ over the nations.

The next point is to inquire, What has the United Presbyterian Church done? and what is her authoritative teaching on the subject of Christian forbearance?

In her acts, adopting the Basis of Union, she declares that the forbearance in love, required by the law of God, will be exercised towards any brethren who may not be able fully to subscribe the Standards of the United Church, while they do not determinedly oppose them, "but follow the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another." Such was the judicial action of the two Synods

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when entering into union with one another. It is a truly scriptural declaration, and worthy of the occasion which gave it birth, and of the men by whom it was framed. It teaches neither more nor less than what is taught by Paul in his epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, and Colossians. It gives no countenance to error in doctrine, nor immorality in practice, but presents the church in her true missionary character, prepared to deal with, and exercise forbearance towards the weak in faith—to exercise patience and long-suffering towards the intelligent who might not be able to fully subscribe all the distinctive principles of the church—both as to the general principles and their manner of statement. Every other church which, like the United Presbyterian, receives, as the symbol of her faith, the Westminster Standards, has an unwritten formula designed to cover the ground occupied by the declarations on forbearance here prefixed to her Standards. She has engraved, as with the point of a diamond, what others, we believe, practice; and some go much farther in forbearance than the adopting act would warrant. It furnishes no pretext for intercommunion, nor for the use of an uninspired psalmody in the social worship of God, nor for any other dereliction in faith or practice, but simply declares the church's duty in dealing with men of different habits and modes of thought.

The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church did, at its sessions in Philadelphia, May 1860, give an authoritative explanation of the adopting acts, so far as the subject of forbearance is concerned. After quoting the adopting act, it did unanimously declare—"That the forbearance in love, which is to be exercised, is simply that which the law of God requires—nothing less—nothing more. And does any one object to the exercise of such forbearance? Then, towards whom is this forbearance to be exercised? Not towards those who are troublers of Israel; not towards those who openly oppose the doctrines embraced in our Standards; not towards the advocates of error; but towards those whose minds, though they may not be able fully to subscribe some of our distinctive principles, are yet open to conviction, and who, in the meantime, demean

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themselves in an orderly manner,—"following the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

By way of analysis, a few remarks are offered on each of the positions, laid down in the Assembly's digest, on the subject of forbearance.

First, It is limited by the law of God. Whatever the Divine law requires us to make matters of forbearance, whether in domestic society, in the body politic, or in the church, the Assembly teaches that it is our duty to practice. The position of the United Church gives no encouragement to latitudinarian speculations in theology, nor practical immoralities. When the Apostle to the Gentiles declared that he became all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some, we do not understand him as saying that he indulged in sinful practices, that thereby he might recommend the Gospel of Christ, but simply that he bore with, and accommodated himself to, the weaknesses of those to whom he ministered; and the church is bound to follow his example. The babes in Christ must be fed with milk, while the strong men are supplied with food adapted to their capacities. If the word of God requires forbearance in love to be exercised by one towards another, and by the church towards weak and even offending children, then a denial of the doctrine of forbearance, as fit and proper to be stated in the authoritative teachings of the church, is a virtual rejection of the law of God. Among the many and great truths stated in her Standards, by the U. P. Church, the doctrine of forbearance in love, as warranted and limited by the law of God, shines forth with peculiar brightness, as distinguishing her from other reformed churches.

Second, It is not to be exercised towards those who are troublers of Israel. This declaration is evidently founded on Romans xiv. 1, and last clause. The man of doubtful disputation, the Apostle commands to reject. The troublers in Israel may be described by a great variety of characteristics. Israel may be troubled by a person of self-conceit and vain glory—by a person self-willed, and troubling his

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fellows with captious questions—by broaching and propagating heresy and error to the distraction of others; but such characters, in terms of the Apostle, the Assembly declares cannot be borne with in the church. She is not designed as a place of debate, strife, and contention—not a place of strivings for mastery, but of subduing the evil passions of our corrupted humanity.

Third, Forbearance is not to be exercised "towards those who openly oppose the doctrines embraced in our Standards." These are the "doctrines of faith;" and the individual who, in her fellowship, makes an open or known opposition to them, or any of them, has no valid plea for impunity from the censure of the church. The rule is explicit. Such an one must be rejected. Human tribunals have to deal with overt acts only, and not with secret purposes. Before opposition to the doctrines of the Standards could become a matter of ecclesiastical cognizance, it must be overt and public. "Secret things belong to God; but what is revealed belongs to us and our children."

Fourth, "Not towards the advocates of error." It is not pretended that every truth of the Bible is included in the subordinate Standards of the church. There may be gross error generating infidelity, and not directly antagonistic to any statements in the Confession, Catechisms, or Testimony; and such are matters of supervision as much as a denial of the sonship of Christ. For instance, the infidel geological theories which contradict the Mosaic history of the world, is as much a subject of supervision by the church as any other; and an individual could not shield himself from the censures of the church under the plea of forbearance, because it is limited by the law of God; and our absolute and unequivocal term of fellowship is that the Bible is our rule of faith and practice.

Fifth, "But towards those whose minds, though they be not able fully to subscribe some of our distinctive principles, are yet open to conviction, and who, in the meantime, conduct themselves in an orderly manner." This declaration restricts forbearance to some of the articles expressing our

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distinctive position—to some of our peculiarities and most effectually guards against any undue liberties which might be taken with the "doctrines of faith," or the practices of the Christian life. Every denomination of professed Christians has some peculiar economical usages which occupy often a prominent place in the administration of Divine ordinances; and how prominent soever these may be in any department of Zion, if they originated in transcient circumstances, and not immediately founded upon the word of God, they ought to be matters of forbearance in love. There are few, very few indeed, able fully to subscribe the doctrines of our Standards; and hence the peculiar phraseology often used to cover the matter,—"as far as you know and understand these doctrines." Such is the unwritten paragraph used by denominations which have not the moral power to write their modes of action.

In conclusion, I know no other church so guarded, and, at the same time, in the spirit of Jesus Christ, so liberal as the United Presbyterian. With precision she defines her position on the fellowship of the saints—she states distinctly what are not matters of forbearance and what are, and thereby leaves all concerned inexcusable. Any individual in her communion opposing her doctrines and order, or any of them, would, by her rules, subject himself to her censures; but Christian courtesy and forbearance in all matters peculiar, and not involving an abandonment of principle, she pledges herself to extend.

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Article III.—The Ruling Elder.

That there is a power to rule, inherent in the church, is now generally agreed by all who believe her to be of Divine institution. As it regards the nature of that power, the channel through which it is communicated, and the manner of its exercise, there are various shades of opinion included between the extreme on the one hand,—of refusing to the people anything to do with it—and, on the other, of allowing them to have all to do with it. These extremes of Absolutism and Democracy—of High Churchism and Independency—are both as far as they well can be from the scriptural view of the government of the church. And, even among those who professedly reject both extremes, there is far enough from agreement. It might be thought that Presbyterians would maintain the Presbyterian Form of Government, and be of the same mind, and speak the same thing in regard to the officers by whom it is administered. But it is otherwise. Confusion—not unlike what once took place in the land of Shinar—has begun among those who claim to be, *par excellence*, Presbyterians, and who avow it to be their special mission to build up and strengthen the ecclesiastical edifice from which they take their designation. The result is likely to be, that the work will either be hindered or imperfectly done.

It ought not to be thought intrusive if others, who claim an interest in the Presbyterian name, and set no light value on the reality, should show their opinion on a subject which is so closely connected with the welfare of the church and the glory of her Head. If anything can be done to settle strife, and save precious truth from harm, it ought to be done. The members of the Presbyterian family have enough to do in repelling attacks from the common enemy,

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without wasting their time in contentions among themselves; but when the strength of the church's circumvallation is threatened by the misdirected efforts of her friends, they must be withstood to the face, because they are to be blamed. On whatever part of the wall, and by whomsoever the attack is made, the assailants must be met by the friends, and foiled by the weapons, of truth.

It is a fundamental principle of Presbyterianism that the government of the church is administered by a class of officers called elders, and that among them there is a perfect parity of power. This principle has been so long held, and, in maintaining it, so much has been suffered, that it should not be thought strange if those who believe it should take the alarm at any attempt, even from a professedly friendly quarter, to weaken or deny it. It is to a feeling of this kind that this paper is owing; and we write with the hope that we may be able to contribute something to the preservation entire of that system of government that the church has received—a precious gift from Christ her king.

The proposition that contains the truth on this subject is, —*That the ruling power in the church is a spiritual function, derived from Christ her head, and conferred by courts constituted in his name on persons called thereto.*

And here, at the outset, we say that it in no way affects the question whether we view the ruling elder and the minister * as different orders, or as one order and different classes. The discussion of this is a useless logomachy, that aids nothing to shed light on the subject, but rather tends to mystify and obscure it. We are treating of the ruling power, and of that alone; and our affirmation is, that this is the same in *nature, source, mode of investiture, and manner of exercise,* whether the subject of it be merely a ruler, or whether he also dispense the word and sacraments.

* "THE RULING ELDER AND THE MINISTER."—Throughout this article we use these terms in their common distinctive meaning—the former the officer in the church who only rules; the latter, the officer who both rules and dispenses the word and sacraments.

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I. That the power to rule in the church is *spiritual*, and that this term expresses its true nature, is so generally held by Presbyterians, that any argument to prove it is unncessary. It is by this property chiefly that the government of the Church is distinguished from that of the State. It is adapted to man as a spiritual being—the subject of a spiritual kingdom—to promote his spiritual interests, by spiritual means. Those who are invested with power to rule in the church, have committed to them functions in their nature spiritual. And here the Scriptures make no distinction. If, as is generally agreed, the keys given to Peter—Mat. xvi. 19—symbolized the preaching of the word, and the dispensation of discipline, then the latter does not differ in nature from the former; and the persons who have the key of discipline are as really in the exercise of a spiritual function as those who have the key of doctrine. What they "bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."

II. Nor is there, so far as we know, diversity of opinion among Presbyterians with regard to the *source* of power to rule in the church. With encouraging unanimity, it is agreed that the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the church, is the only fountain whence ecclesiastical government proceeds. But while this is so, as it regards the supreme source of power, it is contended by some that in the case of those who merely rule there is a subordinate source indispensable to their possession and exercise of power; or, to speak more plainly, that while the power to rule, as well as to dispense the word and sacraments, is received by ministers immediately from Christ by ordination; the power to rule only, is, in addition to this, received mediately through the people. And this is not mere technical nicety, but an essential element, inasmuch as it is contended that ruling elders sit in church courts and judge as the representatives of the people.

We cordially agree that the choice of the people is necessary in order to the legitimate exercise of the power to rule over them. But we contend that this is no less so with regard to ministers than to elders. Ever since the abolition of patronage by the Parliament and Church of Scotland,

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more than two centuries ago, the descendants of that venerable church have maintained the rights of the people, in a free election, to choose their pastors. In all Presbyterian Churches, so far as we know, that right is carefully guarded. The people signify to the Presbytery their desire to have a call for a pastor moderated. The Presbytery grants the request and appoints a minister to attend to this duty. The election is held in a constituted session of the elders of the congregation. The proceedings are duly reported and certified to Presbytery. If, in any part of this process, it should be made to appear that there was interference with the exercise of free choice, the whole proceedings would be vitiated and pronounced void.

Now, what is there more than, or substantially different from this, in the election of elders to rule in a congregation? The choice of the people is as necessary in the one case as in the other. A pastor can no more be intruded on a congregation than elders. And the legitimate inference is, that they no more than he receive office mediately from the people.

It may be said, in reply to this, that ministers, as members of Presbyteries, exercise authority over other congregations than their own—and of course over people who have not chosen them to that service. But do not elders, as members of Presbyteries, do the same thing? And if it be said, in answer to this, that elders receive their authority to sit in Presbyteries by the appointment of their sessions, the difficulty is not removed; for what right has the session of one congregation to confer on one of its members jurisdiction over other congregations? The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. Sessions cannot delegate a power that they themselves do not possess.

A mistake crops out in these objections with regard to the very form and structure of presbyterial government—the correction of which will simplify the subject, and clear the way for understanding it. Presbyteries have not *immediate* jurisdiction over the members of the church. This belongs to sessions which, in their turn, are accountable to Presbyteries, and Presbyteries to Synods. And though it

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is true that Presbyteries have original jurisdiction, yet this is to be exercised only in exceptional cases, and is not the normal condition of superior courts. The true view is, that sessions exercise the whole power of ruling over the people, presbyteries over sessions, and synods over presbyteries, and so, by a regular gradation, to the highest court in the church.

To the objection, that ministers who have no congregation sit in presbyteries as constituent members, while no such right is allowed to elders in sessions, when they are not regularly chosen and installed, we reply:—First, that a minister can no more rule statedly in a session, without election by the people, than an elder. Second, elders as well as ministers can exercise the power of rule in a congregation to which they do not belong by the appointment of presbyteries, as is often done in the case of commissions; and in such cases an elder in regular standing, though not installed in a congregation, is just as eligible as one who is. In the organization of superior courts, while the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism are to be preserved inviolate, there is, neverthless, the privilege allowed of a sound discretion, as to the number of members of which they are to be composed. In General Assemblies not all the ministers are members, but only such as are delegated by the Presbyteries. And in the same way elders become members. It appears, that in the first organization of presbyteries, it was deemed wise to receive but one elder from each session, and to this rule the church has adhered ever since. If the superior courts of the church have the power to restrict their membership, in any given case, to delegates from lower courts, then presbyteries had the power to do what we have just referred to; though, originally, every elder within their bounds might, by virtue of his office, have claimed a seat. And, to deny the superior courts this power, would be to vitiate the organization of all delegated ecclesiastical assemblies; and what is worse, to ignore and set aside the principle of representation that enters so largely into the administration of the covenant of grace.

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We quote here from the Westminster Form of Church Government under the head of "Classical Assemblies."

"A Presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by, the word of God, to be church governors—to join with the ministers in the government of the church."

It is plain from this that those who are warranted by the word of God to be church governors—that is, who are inducted into the office of elder according to the direction of Christ in his word, are members of presbyteries; and we add, this right is substantially exercised when a session delegates to one of its number the power to act for the whole.

We think we have made it very clear, that the office of elder is received as directly from the Head of the church as the office of minister; and that all the right, to exercise his office, that an elder receives by the choice of the people, a minister receives in the same way.

III. We proceed to consider the *mode of investiture with office in the church;* and, we maintain, that it is substantially the same with a ruling elder as with a minister. This is done by ordination. Acts xiv. 23. "And when they had ordained them elders in every church." Titus i. 5. "Ordain elders in every city." That the Greek words rendered by the same English term "ordain," in these texts, are different, is here of no account, inasmuch as all Presbyterians take these and similar passages as a warrant for ordination. If the first, as is generally agreed by critics, includes and presents preëminently the choice of the people in the matter, and "elders" be taken in the general acceptation of presbyters, then it proves that pastors, as well as elders, are to be chosen by the people; if, as some now contend, elders, *πρεσβυτερους*, here and elsewhere in similar connections in the New Testament, mean ministers only, then the proof is still stronger for the right of the people to choose their pastors. The verb in the second passage quoted above, means to appoint—to constitute. And both together convey the idea of the ruling officers setting apart to office in the church proper persons chosen thereto by the people. We

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need scarcely add, that while the direction is to Titus, to "ordain elders in every city," it required him to do this in an orderly way. And what way that is we next proceed to show.

The ordinary power is in ecclesiastical courts. "Ordination is the act of a Presbytery."* An ecclesiastical court is composed of a plurality of ruling officers. Mat. xviii. 18, 20. "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsover ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them by my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Two is the lowest number that can act in the administration of any part of the government of the church. A plurality of ecclesiastical officers, regularly convened and constituted a court in the name of Christ, has the power of ordination in regard to those officers that are properly subject to such a court. A plurality of congregational rulers has the power of ordaining elders, and a plurality of presbyters has the power of ordaining ministers. In these observations we are treating the subject in its simplest form, and in a purely legal aspect. In every case all the officers of a court should be present. But if they are absent through their own neglect, or by any providential hindrance, having due notice of the meeting, the members met have the power to proceed and do their business. Whether they should, when they are a small minority, exercise that power is a question of expediency and prudence. The Westminster Form decides the question, that "It is most expedient that, in these meetings," (of the officers of a particular congregation) "one whose office is to labor in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings."

The point to which we have brought our argument is, that to church courts properly constituted belongs the power of ordination—to a session that of ordaining elders—

* Westminster Form.

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to a presbytery that of ordaining ministers. These are both spiritual courts, intrinsically and essentially of the same nature, and deriving their power from the same source—the Lord Jesus Christ.

The person ordained is set apart to a specific and definite service. A minister is ordained to rule, and also to preach the word and dispense the sacraments. An elder is ordained to rule, which includes all official acts, symbolized by the key of discipline, and none of those symbolized by the key of doctrine. As the functions of the minister's office necessarily require his whole time, he is wholly set apart to the work of the ministry. Elders, set apart to rule only, are, in so far as their time and their attention are demanded, as really devoted as ministers. The dedication is as real in the one case as in the other. And elders have no more power to divert to conflicting objects, the time necessary to perform their official duties, than a minister has to do so with any part of his time. The difference is only in the extent of the dedication. In the minister, it includes his whole man the whole time; in the elder, it includes his whole man all the time the faithful performance of his duties requires of him. It is, therefore, as really the taking back of a thing devoted—for an elder to engage in a calling that will not allow him to do his whole duty—as for a minister to engage in a secular business that prevents him from doing his. We refer, as sustaining these positions, to Acts xx. 28; 1 Tim, iv. 13–16.

There is, then, in ordination a dedication and setting apart of the person ordained in the name and to the service of Christ. And this, let it be remembered, is as real in the case of the elder as in the case of the minister. And, it must necessarily follow, that the accountability of both, to Him in whose name they are set apart, and to whose service they are appointed, is equally direct. The elder takes his seat in a church court by virtue of his office, and not by virtue of any power derived from the people.

The difference in the form of ordination of an elder, in regard to the imposition of hands, cannot here be well passed over. As it has respect to the form, and not to the

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substance of the act, we do not deem it of so much importance as it has received. We are free to say that we cannot see the reason why the difference was made. The laying on of hands is a sign of setting apart to office. Num. xxvii. 23; Acts vi. 6, and xiii. 3. Why this sign should not accompany the ordination of elders we are unable to see. Of one thing we are quite certain, that the fact that he is not to preach and dispense the sacraments is not a sufficient reason. What is there in the imposition of hands so significant of the peculiar functions of ministers that forbids that sign to be employed in the ordination of persons merely to rule? We find no warrant in Scripture for this difference. And, to reason from the absence of this form in the ordination of elders, in favor of a relation sustained by him to the people different from that of the minister, would be to get into a vicious circle—arguing that he must not be ordained by the imposition of hands because he represents the people, and that he represents the people because he is not ordained by the imposition of hands.

Inasmuch, then, as the manner of investing a ruling elder with office is, in all essential respects, the same with that of investing a minister—by a court constituted in the same name, and in the exercise of power of the same kind—by an entire dedication to the whole extent of the requirements of his office, the conclusion seems necessarily to follow, that his obligations flow from the same source, and his accountability is through the same medium to the same authority.

IV. The *manner of the exercise* of the office of ruling elder is the last point we adduce to prove the identity of his office with the ruling function in the ministry. We are aware that an argument on this point, *ad rem*, is liable to the fault of reasoning in a circle. It has the appearance of inferring the nature of the office from the exercise of it, and then inferring its proper exercise from its nature. We propose to employ it now, *ad hominem*, inasmuch as Presbyterians agree in the main as to the functions of the office and to the manner of performing them. We are not aware that it is questioned by any who admit the existence of the office at all,

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that the ruling elder has the same rights in a church court that a minister has. We mean, of course, in all that pertains to the ruling function. He can make and second motions, and speak on them; he can vote on every question; enter his dissent, protest, and appeal. His vote has the same weight as the vote of a minister. He is under the same accountability. If he commit an official misdemeanor, he is tried and censured by the court under which he is in the exercise of his authority. The people who have chosen him have no more to do in disposing of his case than in disposing of the case of a minister. Now, if he received his office mediately from the people, and acted as their representative, would he not be remanded to them to account for his stewardship?

And here we must not overlook a plausible argument for the views we are controverting, taken from the analogy of the Parliament of England and the Congress of the United States. It is alleged, that the difference between the ministry and the eldership, is of the same kind as the difference between the two Houses, in those legislative bodies. If this point was made out in practice the allegation would have weight. But, whoever heard of a Presbytery or a Synod composed of two bodies—the one lay and the other clerical—judging separately in relation to the same question? And the fact that this is not the case, is a proof that, in the judgment of the church, there is entire homogeneity in the ruling power of the elder with that of the minister.

We may be told that the ruling elder, though a member of Presbytery, does not lay on his hand in the ordination of a minister. We admit that this is the fact, and that it is so ordered in the Westminster Form of Church Government. "The preaching presbyters, orderly associated, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain." But imposition of hands is not the whole of ordination. There may be a propriety in elders not employing the sign of setting apart a candidate to an office—one of the functions of which he himself has no right nor power to perform. But the Westminster Form says, also, that "The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole

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Presbytery." Elders are part of a Presbytery. In them, therefore, is the power of ordering the work of ordination. They judge of the fitness of the candidate, and they give their vote on the question of ordaining him. They join in the fasting and in the prayer, which are parts of the work. And we imagine that the vote to ordain, and the prayer actually setting the candidate apart in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are the essentials of ordination; and in these the elders do what ministers do, and all they do, with the single exception of the one that leads in prayer.

From all these considerations, then, it seems most evident that, in every aspect and element of it, the elder's authority, as a ruler in the church, is identical with that of a minister.

If we are asked to give a scriptural warrant for this office, we refer to Acts xx. 17, Rom. xii. 8, 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11, Heb. xiii. 17, 1 Peter v. 1, besides Acts xiv. 24, and Titus i. 5, referred to in the foregoing part of this paper. In these passages we find "elder," "him that ruleth,"—"pastors," "them that rule," &c. We will be told that these all describe the ministry. We admit they do, but we deny that they do so exclusively. And, that they do so, must be proved in order to leave the ruling elder without a warrant from them for his office. Let it be brought out by a fair exegesis of these passages, that they apply to ministers alone; and then let the advocates for the ruling elder seek authority for his office elsewhere, or else give it up as unauthorized. We have no apprehension of being driven to this alternative: nor do we rest the argument here. We find in the ruling elder what is required, and all that is required, in Rom. xii. 8.—"He that ruleth." Immediately preceding, teachers and exhorters are described. "He that teacheth let him wait on teaching; he that exhorteth on exhortation." These are the special functions of the minister's office. And then follows—"He that ruleth, let him rule with diligence." In 1 Cor. xii. 28, the office designated by "governments" is distinguished from that designated by "teachers." In Heb. xiii. 7, ministers are evidently meant. "Them that have the rule over you, who

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have spoken to you the word of God." In verse 17 of the same chapter, we find the injunction—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves." Why this repetition of the command to perform the same duty to the same person, if in both cases members are meant? And why, in the latter instance, is that important part of the description of this office omitted that we find in the first?—"Who have spoken unto you the word of God."

What the design is of those who would take away from the ruling elder all scriptural warrant, we pretend not to say; but we are clear in stating that the tendency of it is to leave the office void of Divine institution; and, if it is allowed in the church at all, to be there merely as a human expedient. And the idea, that the elder is the representative of the people, savors strongly of this. It leaves the matter entirely at the discretion of the people, whether they shall have elders or not. Thus the *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism is virtually denied; and that system of ecclesiastical government, for which so much has been suffered to maintain it, is frittered away to be a mere device of man, to be changed according to popular views of policy or necessity.

1 Tim. v. 17 is sometimes called the stronghold of the defenders of the ruling elder's office. We shall finish this paper by a consideration of this verse; and we hope to show that it is a stronghold that cannot be taken and that will not be surrendered. The passage reads thus—"Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine."

It is manifest that this passage is elliptical. The words, "those of them," need to be substituted for "they," to give the meaning in full. That the class described in the last of the verse is included in the description in the first clause, we presume no government will deny. "They who labor in word and doctrine" also "rule well." We give a few instances of a similar construction; and, in every instance, *especially*, or *specially*, is the rendering of the same Greek word *μαλιστα*. 1 Tim. iv. 10. "Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe." "Those that believe" are a part of "all men." Chap. v. 8. "If any pro-

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vide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house." "His own" included "those of his own house." 2 Tim. iv. 13. "The cloak that I left at Troas bring with thee; and the books, especially the parchments." "The parchments" were among the things "left at Troas." Gal. vi. 10. "Do good to all men, especially to those that are of the household of faith." "The household of faith" are included in "all men."

In the passage under consideration, and in all others of a similar kind, there is an antithesis. Something is denied to the subject of the one part of the sentence which is affirmed of that in the other. Take the first example given above. 1 Tim. iv. 10. It is denied that all men believe, and it is affirmed that some believe. The denial is implied, but it is, nevertheless, real. So in the text before. It is denied that all who "rule well" "labor in word and doctrine." A part is compared with the whole, and is found to have something peculiar, in addition to having what is common to all. That which is peculiar to the part, is that they labored in word and doctrine.

Now, as each part of the sentence is complex, a further analysis is required to ascertain the precise point of the antithesis. What is meant by "laboring in word and doctrine?" Does it denote an additional function to that expressed by "ruling well," or the better performance of the function? Those who deny that the ruling elder is found in this verse, take the latter view: we maintain the former. We hold that "ruling," or "presiding," προεστωτες, means administering the government of the church—"ruling well," καλως, means doing this diligently and faithfully. Laboring in word and doctrine means performing what are properly ministerial functions—dispensing the word and sacraments. Those "who rule"—elders—deserve honor; those "who rule well"—diligent elders—should have double honor; and those who, in addition to this, "labor in word and doctrine"—ministers—have a special claim on this twofold honor. This is all plain, agreeable to common sense, and according to the analogy of faith.

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Let us examine now the other view of the passage. According to it, the antithetical point is in the word "labor," —as expressing the manner of doing the work belonging to all. The meaning, then, would be—the whole ministry deserves honor; those who do their work well should receive double honor; and those "who labor"—who toil and exhaust their strength in it—should especially have "double honor." Now, we ask, what is there in the term "labor" that expresses more as to the manner of performing this duty, than is expressed by the term "well." Can a minister do his work *well*, and yet not labor in it? This would be a nice distinction—too nice for us to make.

But, does the Greek word here rendered "labor," κοπιαω, express the manner of doing the work of the ministry, and not the work itself? This inquiry is of importance in an examination of the passage; and it is to be answered by the application of exegetical rules. Now, we affirm, that while the word in its primitive and literal sense means "to be weary, tired, to faint," it also means to work, to be employed, and, when tropically used, in reference to the ministry, it expresses the performance of the duties of their office—Acts xx. 35, 1 Cor. iv. 12, Eph. iv. 28, 2 Tim. ii. 6, are instances of the first of these affirmations—and John iv. 38, 1 Cor. xv. 10, Phil. ii. 16, 1 Thess. v. 12, of the second. In John iv. 38, Christ uses both the term "reap" and "labor" in a tropical sense—the latter expressing the work of the ministry, and the former the fruit and reward of the work. "I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labor; other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors." He did not mean that the Jewish teachers had labored to weariness and exhaustion in instructing the people, but merely that they had occupied the place of expounders of the law to them, and in that way prepared them for receiving the truth preached by ministers of the New Testament. Paul says—1 Cor. xv. 10—"I labored more abundantly than they all." This is easily understood when we take the term labor as expressive of his work as an apostle; but certainly it would be a forced meaning to understand it of his prosecuting that work to weariness and fainting. All the

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apostles labored, but he labored more abundantly than they; without doubt he alluded to his extensive travels and frequent preaching in planting the church. The qualifying term, περισσοτερον, "more abundantly," contains the idea of the diligent manner of performing the service; but it would have been wholly useless here if that meaning was included in the verb itself.

We will examine farther, in this connection, only 1 Thess. v. 12. "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you." That ministers are meant here, there is no doubt. They are described by the terms "laboring," "ruling," προισταμενους, and "admonishing." We have here, as in 1 Tim. v. 17, the text whose meaning we are endeavoring to evolve, the same Greek words in juxtaposition—rendered "ruling" and "laboring." The point to be ascertained here is—Does "labor" mean the function peculiar to the minister, and something distinct from ruling? Or, does it mean a diligent and toilsome manner of performing his whole duty? We affirm that it is the first, and we would like to see an exegesis of the passage that would make it mean anything else. And, it is worthy of notice, that this verse, in connection with the one immediately following it, is a more detailed repetition of the direction in Timothy. This will appear by presenting them both together. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine." "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them who labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them highly in love, for their works' sake." And while we readily admit, that in Thessalonians ministers are described by all these terms employed, we maintain that the term "labor" respects as really the work they have to do as the terms "ruling" and "admonish." This was our design in quoting the passage, and we merely add, that while it does not clearly teach that the office of ruling elder is of equal authority and dignity with the same office in the minister, it does teach that "ruling" and laboring" are distinct parts of the minister's office. This being proved, the text

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in Timothy, and our analysis of it, page 48, 49, settles the point that by "the elders that rule" is meant those who "rule" but who do not "labor"—who are rulers but not ministers.

Before we close, it seems necessary to advert to the meaning of the term "honor," τιμης, in the text in Timothy. It is contended, by those who maintain that ministers only are meant, that the word signifies in this place, "price," "hire," "recompence." The argument is, that inasmuch as ruling elders receive no remuneration for their services, they cannot be the persons to whom "double honor," or rather double pay is to be given. Apart from criticism, there is something in the exposition of the passage enjoining on the people to pay a double price for their ministers' services; that however much it might seem to promote his interests, would not commend itself to the sense of justice of either himself or of the people. To us the meaning put on the term is very like a desperate attempt to support a baseless theory. We find the term "honor," and its Greek original, in Rom. xiii. 7, and 1 Tim. vi. 1. It is found in many other places in the New Testament, but, we quote these, because in them it stands in similar connection with that in which it is in the verse before us, enjoining the duty of inferiors to superiors. Rom. xiii. 7. "Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; *honor* to whom *honor*." We presume no one will contend that the last injunction in this verse means anything else than that subjects should render due esteem and honor to their rulers. 1 Tim. vi. 1. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all *honor*." Two things we note here—that this direction is but a few verses after the one that contains the word in question, and also that the word expressing the duty enjoined is the same in both places—"Counted worthy of honor." It is not likely that the Apostle, in the same category of directions, would employ a term in two widely different senses. In the first instance, he directs the people to reckon the elders that rule well worthy of double honor, and, in the second, he directs servants to count their masters worthy of all honor. We do not wait to show that by this last command

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is meant respect and esteem due from servants to their masters—for even the exigencies of a desperate cause will not force any sane man to stultify himself by teaching that the Apostle means that servants should pay wages to their masters.

We are aware that the connection of the following verse with the one under consideration is used to sustain the interpretation of honor as meaning recompense. We admit that the particle γαρ is generally used in this causal sense, and that this is its use here. The precept taken from the Jewish law contains a principle that is in this place applied to those who exercise office in the church. That principle is, that what is due should be given. In its application to ecclesiastical relations and duties, it is to be taken in this unrestricted sense. That honor is due by *the people* to those who rule and labor among them, is shown in 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. "Honor them who labor, and are over you and admonish you; and esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." Our argument loses nothing by admitting that recompense to whom it is due is meant; while, unless this be all that it means, it has no force as an objection to our position. If, by the institution of Christ, there is a class of officers for whose services there is to be no pecuniary remuneration, and yet to whom honor is due, then, by this text, to them honor is due; if there is another, who are entitled to recompense as well as honor, then, by the same authority, both are due to them. The objection merely begs the qustion.

And now, we leave it to intelligent Presbyterians to judge whether we have not demonstrated the proposition enunciated in the beginning—"that the ruling power in the church is a spiritual function, derived from Christ her head, and conferred by courts constituted in his name, on persons called thereto;" and, moreover, that the ruling elder, as distinct from the minister, has this office in common with him, and derived from the same source.

NOTE.—The historical aspect of this question has not been touched in the preceding article. Materials are available, however, to show that the church in her best times had her ruling elders as well as her ministers—in the exercise, too, of authority the same in nature and derived from the same source. This may be the subject of a future article.

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[CONTINUED.]

ARTICE IV.—TRACTARIANISM TRACED TO ITS SOURCES.

We have seen that Tractarianism is simply disguised Popery, and that owing to the vail which its promoters contrive, by the use of Protestant phraseology, to cast over it, there is more danger to Protestant interests to be apprehended from it than from avowed Romanism. It becomes, then, an inquiry of great interest as well to the theologian as to the historian, "How has Tractarianism arisen and attained such power in the bosom of a church long deemed by many the bulwark of Protestantism—a church in whose roll of worthies are inscribed the names of such illustrious martyrs for the Protestant faith as Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, and of such stalwart assailants of Popish errors as Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Barrow, and Tillotson?" A satisfactory solution of this question involves a survey of the genius of prelacy, of the peculiar circumstances of the English Church, and of the tendencies of the age. Before entering, however, upon a direct investigation of the origin of Puseyism it may be proper to notice some hypotheses which have been thrown out with the view of accounting for the rise of that system, but which do not appear to us entitled to much confidence.

It has been asserted, for example, that the perversion of Oxford was the result of a deep plot, in pursuance of which members of the Jesuit order insinuated themselves among the students, and even attained the rank of teachers in that aristocratic seat of learning. The assertion has been hazarded even, (for in certain moods of mind the boldest theory is apt to seem the wisest,) that Joseph Blanco White, a distinguished Spanish priest, who, when the troops of

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Napoleon were advancing upon Seville, fled to England, where, not long after his arrival, he made a profession of the Protestant faith and was admitted a clergyman of the Church of England, was a disguised Jesuit. In support of this conjecture it is noted that White spent much of his time at Oxford, and was on terms of close intimacy with some of the most eminent scholars of the University, the present Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, ranking among his friends. It is not denied by those who put forward this supposition to account for the rise of the Oxford heresy, that Blanco White wrote strenuously against the chief errors of Romanism; but they argue that this circumstance does not militate against their view, because that in order to lull suspicion, and gain the confidence of the English Church, White would naturally adopt such a course, while his doing so would be in perfect accordance with the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," which forms so marked a feature of Jesuitical policy. If it is said by way of combating this opinion, that White, before his death, had sunk into Socinianism, and even into the Atheism which he tells us had laid hold of him while yet he officiated as a Romish priest, the theorists of whom we now speak reply, that this also would be in keeping with the craft of the Jesuitical order, because, by seeming to glide into infidelity through Protestantism, he might hope to lend confirmation to the accusation of Romanists that Protestantism is seminal infidelity, and conducts such as follow out its principles logically, to the abyss of atheism.

So far, however, as we can discover, there is no evidence to justify the imputation of such a deep and perfidious design to Blanco White; although we readily concede that Jesuitism is capable of concocting, attempting, and executing a scheme of the kind supposed. It is almost impossible to read the controversial productions of White's pen without feeling that, however ignorant he may have been of the true Gospel, he sincerely hated some of the most palpable errors of Romanism. He furnishes a sketch of his early life, in which he describes the different phases of opinion through which he had passed, and does this with such an

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air of candor as we can hardly believe to have been assumed. Moreover, the effect which his writings would have on most minds, is to generate a deep abhorrence of Popery. While acting as a priest in Spain, he became the prey of skepticism, or rather of downright atheism. From the deadly grasp of this system he seems hardly ever to have been entirely delivered, although for a time, through the reading of Butler, Paley, and other writers on the Evidences of Christianity, he enjoyed some grateful sunshine. It is to be regretted that, on arriving in England, he was thrown into the society of the rationalistic divines of the English Church—men who devoted much attention to the outworks of the Christian faith, while ignorant, or erroneous, in regard to the very essence of true religion—men who relished Plato more than John, Aristotle more than Paul. Miserable comforters were such men to one weary and heavy laden!

On the whole, we see no proper reason for ascribing the Puseyite movement to Jesuitical influence. We have no doubt, however, that after it became noised abroad that the mystery of iniquity was coming into favor at Oxford, Romish emissaries, guided by true vulture instincts, hastened to the spot where the corruption revealed itself. Even now, the greater part of the money spent by Rome for the propagation of the faith in England is devoted—the "Catholic Almanac" being witness—to the maintenance of agents and instrumentalities, whose centres of operation are the two eyes of England, Oxford and Cambridge.

It has been supposed by some that Newman and his confederates entered upon the publication of the Tracts for the Times with the secret intention of Romanizing the Church of England, and that the progress Romeward which, in the lapse of time, these men apparently made, was the carrying out of a preconcerted policy. This conjecture appears to be, however, not only destitute of proof, but also at variance with many facts which could be adduced; while it still leaves it a mystery as to how these men had imbibed Romish sentiments. In the early part of his career, Newman delivered and published a series of lectures, in which he

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applied himself to the task of examining and refuting the principal pecularities of the Popish creed. He was at first rather disposed, it is said, to attach himself to the evangelical school in the Church of England, and, so far from designing to propagate Popery, he seems to have commenced the Tracts for the Times with the intention in part of repelling what he considered Popish aggressions upon the English Church. He and his coadjutors, when accused of Romanizing designs, strenuously, and, for some years at least, with apparant candor, disavowed such perfidious purposes, and pointed to much which they had written as proof that they had no liking for Popery. We are inclined to give them credit for sincerity, at least in the earlier stages of their course, in offering such a disavowal; but it is very difficult to believe them when, in their later life, they disclaimed and repudiated the duplicity laid to their charge. They seem to have drifted for a time unconsciously toward Rome; and when at length they awoke to a perception of the distance they had traveled from the Protestant position, their moral nature had become so besotted by repeated sophistry and disingenuous pleading, that they may have taken a leaf out of the book of the law prescribed by Ignatius Loyola for the guidance of his disciples, and dissembled their real sentiments and aspirations, in order to the advancement of the holy cause to which they had now devoted themselves.

Let us now endeavor to discover the fountains from which issued the malignant flood of false doctrine by which the Episcopal Church, both in England and America, has for many years been inundated.

I. Puseyism results in part from prelacy—the form of government which obtains in the English Church—and also, under a milder type, in the self-styled "Church of America." The position occupied by a prelate of the Church of England is calculated to beget and foster in him a spirit of arrogance and ambition. That some of these bishops have been noted for Christian simplicity and lowliness of mind does not prove that the office they held is favorable to the development of these graces, or even very

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compatible with the exercise of them. Now, whatever possesses a native tendency to stimulate pride and lordly assumption within the precincts of the church, favors the rise and progress of Popery. Prelates are not likely to retain long their sovereignty over the church, if they cannot surround themselves by imaginary supports and bulwarks. They also become intoxicated by the servile flattery addressed to them, and perhaps at length persuade themselves, that the arguments used to prove them the channels of grace to a desolate world are conclusive. The doctrine of the apostolical succession of the bishop is, in such circumstances, most welcome, and to this doctrine, urged so extensively by English Episcopalians in defence of the claims of the prelates, may be traced in a large degree the rise and spread of Tractarianism. In fact, the man who swallows the dogma of the succession is essentially a Romanist, and is prepared for receiving with fatal facility the very worst doctrine emanating from the Vatican.

It may be said, however, that the leaders in the Puseyite revolution were not prelates, but priests or presbyters, who could not be actuated by any of the selfish and ambitious motives which might readily be supposed to have an influence upon the bishops. This objection assumes that among the inferior orders of the "clergy" there does not exist an overbearing disposition, similar to that which their superiors might feel and evince; but a little knowledge of human nature—certainly a knowledge of human nature within the circle more immediately contemplated—would suffice to dispel this notion. The Presbyters feel that their own importance in the eyes of the people depends much upon the dignity of the bishops. If the bishops are the real successors, as they claim, of the apostles, and can alone convey to others the right to preach and administer the sacraments, then the "clergy" set apart by them are the only authorized preachers—all others who officiate under the name of Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist ministers being mere intruders—thieves and robbers who have not entered the sheepfold by the door. This feeling of superiority on the part of Episcopal underlings to the "teachers

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of the sects" is greatly enhanced by the belief of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the kindred doctrine of the efficacy of the Eucharist. Deeming himself a channel of mystic virtues—a keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven—it is not strange that the Episcopal rector or parson should wear an air of much importance, and cherish a feeling of contempt—at least of contemptuous pity—for all aspirants to the pastoral office who are not even bold enough to claim the prerogative of making infants heirs of God by the performance of the baptismal ceremony. Thus, it may easily be seen, that the presbyter who magnifies the office of a prelate thereby adds to his own dignity; while it is also quite intelligible, how the hope of one day wearing the mitre may render many a presbyter eloquent in praise, and fervent in defence, of the Episcopal office. We contend, then, that the prelatical form of church government has a tendency to inflate the ministry, both high and low, with pride, consequently to incite them to the devising of expedients for supporting their arrogant assumptions, and thus conducts, by a very natural process, to the essentially Romish doctrines of Apostolical Succession and Baptismal Regeneration. Nor is it only in the manner now indicated that prelacy leads to Puseyism and Popery. It is an unfortunate circumstance for those who undertake to defend the Divine right, or even legitimacy of the prelatical form of church government, that the New Testament is very refractory as to yielding testimony favorable to their purpose. It is rather difficult to prove, from Scripture, that the bishop is in any respect superior to the ordinary pastor. Even critical and ambitious Episcopalians admit that, in the New Testament, the terms "bishop" and "elder" are used as interchangeable; and whether they should admit this or not, we think, it can be proved. Conscious of the weakness of their cause, so far as Biblical evidence is concerned, the advocates of prelacy are in the habit of resorting to the writings of the Fathers for support. In doing so they are strongly tempted to assign to tradition, and uncanonical books, a position utterly incompatible with the paramount claims of Scripture. The Bible as the only rule of faith

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is, by such special pleaders, practically renounced, and the Fathers are exalted to a coördinate rank at least with the apostles—nay the former, as being more pliant in the hands of prelatists, soon take precedence of the latter as authorities on topics of ecclesiastical government. Thus the effort to sustain prelacy conducts to one of the fundamental errors of Popery—one also which is prolific of numberless other errors. It is one of the great evils resulting from the admission of an unscriptural dogma that, in defending it, we are apt to be impelled to the adoption of illegitimate modes of proof; and thus one error may draw after it a thousand others worse than itself. Prelacy has contributed to lower the Bible and exalt tradition in the esteem of the English Church. It is an incubus which has well nigh pressed the life out of that church. It is a burden which will ultimately prove too heavy for any church of Christ, and which, in proportion as a church is pervaded by Christian vitality, she will feel to be the more intolerable.

Confirmation of what we have advanced on this point may be derived from the Tracts for the Times, in which we can distinctly trace the growth of opinion, and the steps by which the writers were led ultimately to the gates of Rome. One of the really interesting and instructive features of those prosy tracts is the fact, that they afford us the means of tracing the evolution of sentiment—the development of doctrines in the minds of the authors. And, forming our judgment from the tracts, we do not hesitate to say, that a desire to exalt the Anglican hierarchy was a predominent element in the complexity of influences by which Puseyism was hatched. The very first of the series contains a lugubrious complaint in regard to the low opinion prevalent even among "Churchmen" as to the sacredness and dignity of the Episcopal office, and calls upon all the ministers of the English Church to rally around their bishops; to advocate their claims as the successors and representatives of the apostles; and to comport themselves as becomes those who have enjoyed the distinction of Episcopal ordination. This is the first note struck in the Tracts for the Times, and as we proceed in the perusal of them we can perceive how

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step by step, the writers are led to the acceptance and maintenance of the most unscriptural doctrines of the Romish system. Here, also, we can discover one reason why the English bishops have been so tolerant—in some instances perceptibly enamored—of Puseyite doctrines and practices. Very savory must the doctrine of Oxford, in regard to the mysterious importance of the Episcopal office, have been to the pompous dignitaries of the church. The wonder is that doctrine so unctuous and fascinating did not command even a greater measure of Episcopal patronage than has actually been extended to it. The sycophantic language used relative to the bishops by such men as the authors of the Tracts for the Times was calculated to intoxicate the minds of those dignitaries. It is not impossible that some of them owe their preservation from such a calamity to their love of the world, and their preference of its "pomps and vanities" to the merely ghostly supremacy claimed for them by the devoted Puseyites. The spirit which prompted certain abbots and bishops of the middle ages to assume, with greater zest, the coat of mail than their canonical vestments, has not become quite extinct in this nineteenth century; numerous as may be the proofs that "the age of chivalry," as Burke expressed it, "is gone."

II. There has always existed in the Established Church of England, since the days of the Reformation, a mass of Arminian and Ritualistic sentiment which only awaited a favorable conjunction of circumstances to ripen into Popery. There is much truth in the famous saying of Lord Chatham —"The Church of England has a Calvnistic creed, a Popish Liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." The chief objection which we have to this saying is, that in designating the creed of the Anglican Church "Calvnistic," it needs to be accepted with considerable abatement. While in the thirty-nine articles, subscription to which is required of ministers of that Church, Calvinism in a modified form is unquestionably taught, yet these articles at the same time contain declarations which afford loopholes of escape to any subscribers who are inclined to Arminian opinions. Moreover, in the Liturgy and Canons, enough can be found to af-

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ford shelter and countenance to those who adopt views the most incompatible with Calvinism, or genuine Protestantism. To these departments of her formularies have the Rationalists and Ritualists of the English Church alike resorted, and from them, as from thorny, perplexing thickets, have maintained a galling fire on their fellow-churchmen of an evangelical tone. Had evangelical teaching pervaded the Church of England at the period when the Tracts for the Times made their appearance, they would have fallen to the ground as powerless as the leaves of Autumn. But the contrary was the case. Within the limits of the Church there was an accummulation of inflammatory matter, for awakening which into a conflagration little more than a spark was required. The dark nooks of the two great universities of England, particularly that of Oxford, have never received a thorough Protestant sweeping illumination or ventilation. Rank Arminianism, and incipient Romanism, have found in those two nurseries of the Church a congenial soil. The bats and owls of the middle ages have never been thoroughly dislodged from the crevices and recesses of those seats of learning. The spirit of monkery still lingers around those Universities, and the associations with which the students who repair to them are surrounded, tend to generate a mediaval tone of mind. We concur most heartily in the noble defense which the biographer of John Knox has furnished of that fearless Reformer's sentiments in regard to the influence for evil, which the monastries and other buildings identified with Popery might have in Scotland, if left undisturbed. In the saying "Pu down the nests and the rooks will fly awa'," as applied to the ecclesiastical structures consecrated to idolatrous purposes there was much sagacity evinced, and if Dr. M'Crie had survived till our own day he could have drawn melancholy corroboration of his own, and of Knox's views from the modern history of Oxford, if not also of Cambridge.

The bishops who performed a leading part in the reformation of the English Church were Calvanistic in sentiment, even as regards ecclesiastical government, but as the reformation had not begun with them, so neither was the carry-

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ing of it out left to their discretion; and the glorious movement was arrested by the strong hand of Elizabeth at a point when, had it been permitted to progress, it would probably have made clean work with the abominations of the apostasy. The Church of England never has been purged effectually of Popish practices, leanings, and sentiments, nor indeed could such a desirable consummation be reasonably looked for, when it is considered that Elizabeth, who, more perhaps than any other single person, gave character to that church, and projected her upon her career, aimed at rendering her attractive to Romanists, and at drawing within her fold the most determined Papists provided they acknowledged the Queen's supremacy. It is a fact, too, that when by Elizabeth's direction the oath of supremacy was tendered to the "clergy," less than two hundred refused to take it, out of nine thousand four hundred parochial ministers who had been beneficed under Bloody Mary, the bigoted, relentless persecutor of the reformed. Such being the materials out of which the professedly Protestant Church of England was constructed, it need not appear wonderful that a Laud should arise within her in process of time, and that all along her course can be clearly seen upon her part a proclivity for Popery. To extend our analysis a little further, we may say that the English Church, for the last two centuries and more, has presented the spectacle of embracing within her fold at least three parties—an Evangelical, an Arminian, or rather Laudean, and a Rationalistic party. Of these the smallest has been the Evangelical, while against it the others have made common cause. To how low an ebb the Evangelical interest in the English Church was reduced in the last century may be judged by a letter written by John Newton in the year 1797. "I am not sure," says this excellent man, "that in the year 1740 there was a single Gospel minister in the whole kingdom. Now we have, I know not how many, but I think not less than four hundred." In this statement he has no reference to the condition of the Dissenters. Writing in 1801, the same authority says: "I am told there are ten thousand parishes in England. I believe more than nine thousand of these are without the

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Gospel." When Rev. Mr. Romaine, an honor to the Church of England, preached at St. Dunstan's, in London, about the middle of the last century, he encountered bitter opposition on account of his evangelical views, and had, it is alleged, but one coadjutor among all the ministers belonging to the Established Church in the metropolis. It is not difficult to gather from the Commentary of the judicious Scott, who was a minister of the Established Church of England, that the pious author had experienced from brethren the bitterness of "cruel mockings," and of other forms of persecutions, for the truth that was in him. The gentle Cowper, too—a moral hero with more than feminine sensibility and tenderness, a poet around whose brow posterity has woven, and will continue to weave, deserved laurels, whose verse shall live while the language which he used shall last, who for vigor and delicate precision of style has no superior in the annals of English literature—owes much of the melancholy which tinges his pages, to the fact that his contemporaries of "The Church" were more disposed to accord to him, for his championship of evangelical truth, a crown of thorns than one of laurel. Who, that has ever read, can forget the polished, yet most pungent satire with which the Bard of Olney exposes the heathenism of the Church of England, and the glowing zeal with which he vindicates the cause of true morality and religion, against the ignorance and sneers, and foul aspersions of the professed representatives of the Apostles?

Now, the Arminian and Pelagian tendencies which have found place in the Church of England since the days of Henry the Eighth, have in these latter times cropped up in the shape of Puseyism, and Neology, or diluted infidelity. As has been already hinted, Oxford has lately given birth to essays very different in many respects from the celebrated Tracts for the Times; and yet between the infidel essayists and the Romanizing tractarians there are sundry points of contact. Superstition and infidelity are really twins, diverse from each other though they appear. The Tractarianism and the Infidelity of the Church of England in the present day are the outgrowth, by the different processes, of the old Armin-

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ianism of that Church; although there can be little doubt at the same time that the infidelity which, under various guises, bearing the general name of the "Broad Church," is now manifesting itself within the pale of the ecclesiastical establishment of England, results in a good degree, from Puseyism by reaction. In one of the notes appended by the late Archdeacon Hare to his treatise, "The Mission of the Comforter," that subtle analyst and eloquent writer, strong as were his attachments to the Church of England, and desirous as he was to maintain her integrity numerically by ample concessions and tolerance, furnishes incidentally corroboration of several sentiments which we have just been expressing. With reference to the prominent Anglican theologians belonging to the close of the seventeenth, and the early half at least of the eighteenth century, Hare makes the following weighty remarks:—"In many of our divines of this age, as has been observed already, and subsequently, the reluctance to recognize spiritual influences was aggravated by their repugnance to the parties that made the chief pretensions thereto. This, however, was not the case with Stillingfleet, whose disposition towards the Puritans was conciliatory. His narrow views concerning the operations of the Spirit are the result of that Arminian scheme of doctrine which had gained much ground in our Church prior to the civil wars, and which, after the expulsion of the bulk of its opponents by the Act of Uniformity, became almost exclusively predominant. For, since every truth has a contiguous error, men have perpetually overrun the boundary between them, from their fondness both for exalting their own convictions, and for depreciating those of their opponents; and thus, while Calvinism has been too prone to lapse into Antinomian and Manichean exaggerations, Arminianism has always had a Pelagian tendency, and been apt to reduce the work of the Spirit to a minimum, to a single initiative act—be it with reference to individuals at their baptism, or in their ministerial capacity at their ordination—or with reference to the whole Church in the miracles wrought at its foundation. This is analogous to the mechanical systems of philosophy, which are unwilling to admit any

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divine agency in the physical universe except at the creation." Such being, then, the doctrinal characteristics of the English Church prior to the outbreak of Puseyism, it is not difficult to account for the success which attended the Tracts for the Times, fraught with puerilities though many of these productions were. The Puseyite theory of justification is essentially Arminian, or Pelagian, and hence was not repulsive to those—a very numerous class—within the Church of England, who repudiated Calvinism. We are justified, say the Puseyites, not on account of the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, but on account of the grace imparted to us in the sacraments whereby we are rendered personally, internally righteous. Hence the ablest antagonists of Tractarianism have, in grappling with the system, firmly planted themselves on the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith on account solely of the imputed righteousness of Christ.—The English Church presented a soil well prepared for the reception of the seed so diligently scattered by Newman, Pusey, and their confederates.

Moreover, the ritualistic spirit of the Anglican Church conduced to the birth of Tractarianism, and to its rapid spread. Let any one peruse the Book of Common Prayer, and he will find enough to prove how much of Romanism still lingers in the worship and arrangements of the Church of England. What mean those special services for saints' days and festivals, of which the Bible takes no account, unless it be in the second commandment, to warn against such voluntary humility? From such swamps malarious influences must proceed, which will prove fatal to many, although insufficient to overpower some strong constitutions. In the Catechism, with which the Church of England has provided her youth, and in the service for baptism, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, one of the most offensive and pernicious tenets of Puseyism, is unquestionably taught —and, be it remembered, that the Episcopal Church of the United States has adopted the Catechism without alteration, and the baptismal service with a slight change, which provides for the omission of the sign of the cross in baptism, in case strong objections to the use of it should be made.

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The first question in the Catechism (so strongly in contrast with the grand beginning of the solemn overture of the Westminster Shorter Catechism) is not an unfit introdnction to the meagreness of that form of doctrine. It is as follows: —"What is your name?" The second question is like unto it, being nothing less than that profound inquiry, "Who gave you this name?" In answer to this interesting interrogatory the pupil is taught to say, "My Sponsors in Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is as forcibly and plainly presented in this answer as the most advanced Puseyite could desire. Is it matter of wonder that the Tracts for the Times issued from the bosom of a Church which puts such a Catechism into the hands of her children, and requires them to repeat it as a preliminary to confirmation by the bishop?

In the prescribed office for the baptism of infants, and of adults, we discover the same pernicious doctrine. After the "priest" has immersed, or sprinkled, pronounced the baptismal formula, and made the sign of the cross upon the forehead of the infant, or adult, he is to address the congregation in these terms—"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this (child or person) is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, let us give thanks to Almighty God for these benefits," &c. And after the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the minister is to say, "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this (infant or person) with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church. And humbly we beseech thee to grant that he, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin, and that as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, he may also be partaker of his resurrection," &c. Again we ask, what wonder is it that out of such ritualistic religion Tractarianism should arise, and, having assumed shape, should meet with a cordial reception

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on the part of those accustomed to the baptismal service, and the Catechism of the Episcopal Church?

It may be said, indeed, that other parts of the formularies of the Episcopal Church are incompatible with the doctrine which we have seen taught in the Catechism and Form of Baptism. This we will not venture to deny. We believe it to be true, and we recognize in this circumstance the temporizing and, in some respects, compromising Janus-like policy which presided over the infancy and formative process of the Church of England; but with how much plausibility can one of Puseyite leanings infer that, inasmuch as the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is taught at the very beginning of the Catechism, and assumed so undeniably in the baptismal service, the intention of the Church was to put this doctrine prominently forward, and to make, apparently, contradictory dogmas, elsewhere found, bow to this doctrine rather than it to them? One lesson impressively taught by some facts just now alluded to is, that it is never safe—even if there were no other objection—for a Church to admit anything unscriptural into her constitution, in the hope that the other provisions or articles which she may have adopted, shall correct, or counteract the evil. The pot of ointment may be marred by a single dead fly.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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Article V.—The Theology of Art.

There are two grand sources of Theology—Nature and Revelation. We have no knowledge of God, except through one or the other, or both of these sources. That derived through Nature is commonly designated Natural Theology, and that through Revelation, or the Bible, is called Revealed Theology. These are, however, not conflicting Theologies, but harmonious, mutually illustrative and corroborative; and while each embraces some facts peculiar to the particular source, whether of Nature or Revelation, whence it is derived, neither, in a single instance, teaches any doctrines concerning Deity at variance with those which are taught by the other. God is an infinite unity, and the science of God is necessarily, therefore, a science of unity; and, if true, will invariably be one, and consistent with itself in all its teachings, irrespective of the medium through which they may be communicated.

The subject of our proposed dissertation is embraced in the province of Nature, and, consequently, the *Theology of Art* is a Natural Theology. It is natural, not merely as distinguished from Revealed, but also as strictly and truly pertaining to Nature. And it is the Theology of only one small department of the countless multitude of departments within the domain of the Divine creation whence we may obtain knowledge concerning Him by whom all things consist, and whose being, and wisdom, and power, and benevolence, are manifested in them all.

Art is often spoken of in contradistinction from *Nature*, as though there was an opposition between them—as though the deeds of Art were in violence of those of Nature. And so, according to the definition of the term as given by certain learned lexicographers, it should be regarded. "Art,"

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says John Craig of Glasgow, "is the power of doing something not taught by nature or instinct;" and Webster says, it "is the disposition or modification of things by human skill to answer the purpose intended," and "in this sense *art* stands opposed to *nature*." With these Worcester accords.

We accept these definitions as sufficiently accurate in the main, but are not willing to concede that art is, in any proper sense, *opposed to nature*. Art is only *another nature*, and the distinguishing means by which it achieves its peculiar results are *natural* means, employed as subject to *natural* laws, *modifying*, but in no other respect interfering with, the original productions of nature. It is true that the achievements of art are human achievements, as contradistinguished from those of God, and hence it is that the propriety of calling in their aid to contribute to the teachings of Natural Theology has been questioned. It has been taken for granted, for a long time, that the province of Natural Theology exclusively embraced *unmodified* nature, and accordingly the Natural Theologian could not presume to look into his artificial, or "mechanical surroundings," for any light upon this momentous theme—the Science of God. Says an eloquent writer: "All classes of people accept it as a duty to extol nature, and to disparage art in the comparison, as if so to do were doing God service. We hear, in prose and verse, of Divine purpose in the eye, the hand, and in the motions and powers of each; but not in the products resulting therefrom. Lessons of creative forethought are drawn from the shell, the honey-comb, and the flower —seldom or never from the picture, implement, garment, book, or building. We see something of God's glory in the violet, snow-flake, cataract, and sun; we fail to see it in the instruments which reveal the minute beauty or use of the wonderful power of these objects. We behold it in the ores, the fire, and sand, but are too deaf to hear it in the musical, graceful result brought forth from those formless materials—a heavenly sounding bell. "On the bells of the horses shall be holiness to the Lord" inscribed, and it will be not only in the sense that religion shall consecrate every-

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thing, but also that in everything the Most High shall be seen." *

In researches after the knowledge of Deity, it is not deemed as transcending the legitimate bounds of nature, to contemplate the busy bee in its interesting labors in the construction of its hexagon city and the treasuring up of its nectar food. Its powers of architecture and of providence we ascribe to peculiar instincts with which it has been endowed by its Creator; and hence we see God in the honeycomb. But the bee, in the exercise of its distinguishing instincts, modifies nature as certainly, if not to the same extent, as does man by his superior and more adventurous and comprehensive genius. Again, we behold dense commonwealths of termites, or white ants, rearing their stately mound-cities, and replenishing them with wealth adapted to their wants; and we study their habits, their royal, and soldier, and laboring orders of citizens, all faithful to their respective duties, fulfilling their respective offices, and as we gaze and wonder at these singular phenomena of animal life, we are constrained to acknowledge that the footsteps of Deity are here. Thus, also, we look upon the beaver, with his dam and his mud dwellings on its banks; upon the spider, toilsomely weaving his attenuated web, and afterwards devoting himself to his murderous watch; in short, upon all the multiplous orders of animal existence, from the diminutive animalcule to the huge elephant or whale, and we discover, in all their varied instincts adapted to their peculiars mode of being, the indubitable wisdom of God's workmanship and supervision, and the reflected attributes of His nature.

And why should instinct rise in proof of God, and reason not? Man, we say, is a rational creature; the bird, the beast, the insect, the reptile, are irrational. Man achieves his peculiar works under the inspiration and control of reason; the lower orders of animal creation achieve theirs under the promptings and guidance of blind instinct. Not to enter into the discussion of the question how far it may be

*North American Review, vol. 79, p. 5.

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proper to ascribe rationality, in some sense, to the lower animals, we will suppose it to be true, as is commonly assumed, that birds build their nests, however artistically fitted to the wants of their several species; that caterpillars weave their silken shrouds; that lions make their leafy lairs; that eagles rear their eyries upon the mountain crag; and all provide and pursue their own requisite means of subsistence and perpetuity by mere instinct, without the semblance of godlike reason. Does this fact render them more eminently the instruments of advancing the Divine glory by their works than the rational and moral agent, man? Certainly not; but, on the contrary, as reason is nobler than instinct, and approximates more nearly to Deity in its characteristics as a faculty, so does it bear a more significant testimony on God's behalf, and throw a stronger, clearer light upon the nature of that Eternal Source whence both reason and instinct emanate.

Man is an artist, God-ordained and qualified as such. He is an artist, not as the bee, or the beaver, or the ant, or the spider is one, by mere instinct, but he is a reasoning, designing artist. In the language of the lamented Hugh Miller, "Man is the great creature-worker of the world—its one created being that, taking up the work of the adorable Creator, carries it on to higher results and nobler developments, and finds a field for his persevering ingenuity and skill in every province in which his Maker had expatiated before him. He is evidently—to adopt and modify the remark of Oken—God's image manifested in the flesh."

His reason is the impress of the Divine reason upon his soul; his capacity to devise and skill to execute are faint reflections of the same powers as pertaining, in infinite perfection, to Jehovah; his ingenuity and energy in the modification of the materials of creation by which he is surrounded, so as to produce new forms or structures to add to the variety already extant in nature, and new instruments and potentialities not otherwise existing, are the outworkings, in man, of the same capacities inherent essentially in the Godhead. Man's wisdom to discern; his understanding to appreciate; his memory to preserve the records of

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experience and observation; his will to determine; in short, all his distinguishing properties and powers as a moral, rational agent, point infallibly to One who is the Author of his being, and in whom all these properties and powers inhere in an infinite degree. And they all combine, by their results, to assert and demonstrate the minute, universal, providential government of God,—to show that it extends even to the direction of a sparrow in its flight or in its fall, and to the numbering of the hairs upon our heads, as well as to the revolutions of worlds and systems of worlds filling immensity. In the achievements of art and developments of history, God is as visibly manifested as in creation itself; for these are events which make up a part of the ever-unfolding kingdom of Divine Providence, in which, indeed, ultimately God will be exhibited as invested with far more exceeding glory than will accrue to Him from His mere works of creation. And the history of human arts affords a most interesting field of study in its relation to the Science of God, as will appear in the progress of the discussion upon which we have entered.

1. To begin with what we may assume to have been the very first art of human attainment, *spoken language*,—what an indispensable element of power is this to the peculiar mission of humanity in the world! Without it, man could never have risen to his present elevated scale of being. Other animals may be supposed to have some capacity to communicate with each other by vocal utterances, significant of certain ideas; but articulate speech it is the exclusive prerogative of man on earth to employ. Monkeys chatter, dogs bark and snarl, cats mew and pur, birds chirp and sing,—yea, all orders of animal creation emit peculiar sounds susceptible of a limited range of various intonation, expressive of various wants and passions; but man, alone, *talks*.

And whence came articulate speech to man? Is it an invention of human genius developed in the progress of ages, and brought by slow and difficult degrees to its present admirable perfection, so that we have, instead of the former unmeaning sounds, distinct syllabic utterances for every distinct idea of which the most adventurous mind can

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form a conception? Or was it originally, and in the beginning of our race, a special endowment from God, which has since been modified and diversified from its primordial form, —until now it manifests itself in thousands of different languages and dialects among men? Thus Lucretius, an ancient philosopher, expresses his opinion upon this subject:

> "To maintain that one devised alone
> Terms for all nature, and th' incipient tongue
> Taught to the gazers round him, is to rave.
> For how should he this latent power possess
> Of naming all things, and inventing speech,
> If never mortal felt the same besides?
> And, if none else had e'er adopted sounds,
> Whence sprang the knowledge of their use? Or how
> Could the first linguist to the crowd around
> Teach what he meant? His sole unaided arm
> Could ne'er o'erpower them, and compel to learn
> The vocal science; nor could ought avail
> Of eloquence or wisdom; nor with ease
> Would the vain babbler have been long allowed
> To pour his noisy jargon o'er their ears."

From the nature of the case, it seems indubitable to us that articulate speech could not have had its origin as a mere human invention, or as the result of a "succession of accidents, from the casual but growing wants, or the casual but growing improvements of mankind." It is a God-given art, conferred as the handmaid of rationality itself, and contemporaneous in its origin with the latter preëminent distinction of humanity. As soon as man was enabled to reason and understand, so soon, it appears from the inspired history of his creation, did his tongue become obedient to the behests of his living, thinking soul as the organ of speech. "Adam gave names to all the cattle and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field," immediately upon their being arrayed before him for that purpose, while as yet woman had not been given to him for his companion, and his birth-day had not elapsed. And we cannot call this statement in question. Even though the Bible were not an all-sufficient authority with us here—as it is—there would be evidence enough still that the art of articulate

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speech was, in the beginning, a direct endowment from God, and as such is the inheritance of our race through all successive ages. With all the modifications it has since undergone, by which it has been rendered more ample and complete than was requisite in the incipiency of its use, and by which it has been made to assume almost as many varieties as there are nations and kindreds upon the earth, there is a unity of principle pervading its structure everywhere, and a unity of essential character, which attest the unity of its origin, and conduct us back to that early period when Adam, our universal ancestor, stood, a solitary human being, the first of his kind, amidst the splendors of the new creation, and endowed with a goological knowledge which a life-time may not now suffice to attain, distinguished the animal orders according to their specific nature, and gave them names significant accordingly. We dare not, therefore, separate God from this art, or exclude Him from the glory of its authorship. The footsteps of Deity are here, as distinctly traceable as in any other department of His providential empire; and we love to contemplate them as footsteps Divine.

Strange it is, and wonderful, that the soul of man—that principle of man's being which is destined to survive the wreck of worlds, and exercise its mighty spiritual capacities throughout endless ages,—that undying entity which constitutes the true, proper man, now incarcerated, as it were, in mortal flesh, a prisoner of the body, yet finds that body in which it is for the time constrained to dwell, a most perfect physical organism, adapted to all the peculiar requirements of its immortal occupant in the present sphere of its existence. Every sense and every organ of the corporeal system are subjected to the mandates of the spiritual essence within, according to their respective functions. And in the tongue we have a beautiful exemplification of this fact. How much latent power is involved in this little organ of speech! And how much developed power often flows from its exercise! It is a vast soul-power; for it is through the tongue the soul speaks, and its words are thoughts *embodied* that go out to do execution, either good or bad, upon the souls

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of others. The power that is thus wielded, instrumentally, by the tongue, is mightier than thrones and armies combined. It is the great power of powers among men in the world, and is destined to be so still more eminently in time to come. It is before and superior to all earthly organizations of power,—is indispensable, indeed, to the existence of such organizations. Yes, the tongue, as gifted with speech, is a grand *soul-power*, and when that power is wielded, in obedience to the Eternal Word, to *speak*, as it has been commissioned to do, "all the words of this life," the life everlasting brought to light through the Gospel, into the ears of every creature in all the world, then it is, especially, that it proves itself to be, not only the mightiest, but the most heavenly, of powers, which it is the prerogative of man to either experience or employ. In such an event, it is "the power of God to save." "It hath pleased God, by the foolishness of *preaching*, to save them that believe," and nothing short of the power of the Almighty is adequate to save. And mark it, this almighty power is practically enforced chiefly through the medium of preaching, or *speaking the good words of eternal life*. Those "cloven tongues of fire" which were sent as a significant symbol, to rest upon the heads of the apostles and evangelists on the celebrated day of Pentecost, reveal to us the grand instrumentality by which God has ordained the regeneration of the world to be accomplished. Spoken language, fervent with the love of Christ and of souls, and glowing with holy ardor, and consecrated by the same Spirit, and dictated in every man's own tongue throughout the wide world, in every division and subdivision of human speech,—this is to be the special, Divine-human agency by which, directly and indirectly, the most happy and blessed transformations of human character and condition, in every respect, will ultimately be effected. Then it is that every tongue will become vocal in celebrating the praises of God, and will give to Him all the glory of all his works.

2. Next in order, as contributing to the Science of God in His providence towards man, we indicate *written language*. And what a sublime art is this! How momentous in its

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bearings upon the destiny of our race!—more momentous indeed, on several accounts, than the art preceding. But it is the same art, only in another application of it; it is articulate speech addressing the eye, while in the former example it addresses the ear. That a few dark characters, traced upon the surface of a white sheet of paper, should convey thought as accurately and as infallibly as articulate speech itself,—how could the idea of such an achievement have first obtained an entrance into the human mind? Was this, also, as in the former case, a Divine endowment in the beginning, or is it the creature of human invention? We incline to the opinion that it is a God-given art, not from any positive historic testimony we possess in the proof of it, but from the elevated nature of the art itself as transcending the capacities of the ordinary genius of man to invent. We can conceive how picture-writing may have been suggested to the human mind in the process of its own reflections, without any supernatural prompting or guidance; but alphabetical writing is an art of far greater difficulty, and of far more extraordinary character. *Word-writing* is an achievement involving so many properties of the wonderful, in the highest sense of this term, that it seems to us altogether improbable that it could ever have come within the range of mere created ingenuity to have discovered the art. But it matters not what may be our theory of the origin of this art, it is, in any case, a manifest result of Divine interposition, and reveals to us the Deity present in the affairs and directing the capabilities of our race to an issue meritorious of their high and glorious calling as God's vicegerents in the world.

History, which perpetuates to us the events and attainments of the past; philosophy, which develops to us the principles of all natural and moral phenomena, and penetrates into the hidden arcana of universal existence; religion, which preserves to us the knowledge and worship of the only living and true God, and enforces the laws of His moral empire upon the hearts and consciences of men; science, indeed, in all its departments, enlightening the mind, regenerating the heart, and sanctifying the soul—

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science of earth and heaven, of things and interests present and future—all have their existence, as now developed in our midst by virtue of written language. Where this art is unknown, there barbarism prevails, and man is little superior to the brute; and it is certain that it is to *written revelation* we are, this day, indebted for all the true religion in the world, and hence, for all that which is promotive of the highest and best interests of mankind for time and for eternity.

Here, therefore, in this combined human art of spoken and written language, as a mighty power investing our race, we have that peculiar fitness of things—that remarkable adaptation of means to ends, which, in everything else emanating from God, demonstrates His perfections so clearly and impressively, and elicits the ascription of praise and glory to His great name. Reason and conscience are no more indispensable to man as an intelligent, moral agent, than are spoken and written language; and their harmonious existence and coöperation in the human constitution and attainments are all so many witnesses for God, and all conspire with each other to teach us knowledge concerning Him, by whom and for whom are all things.

3. Another primary art of man, reflecting light upon theology, consists in the *use of fire*, or the generation of artificial heat. This also is peculiar to man, and confirms his commission to replenish and subdue the earth.

An orangoutang is said to be the most sagacious of all irrational creatures, and to make the nearest approximation to man. But with all its sagacity, it has never been able to learn and understand the art and use of building fires. The experiment has been tested with different species of the monkey tribe; and while they know how to appreciate the comforts of a fire when built, just as a house-dog or cat does, yet if it should burn low, they know not how to replenish it or to keep it going.

It may seem trifling, at first sight, that we should allude to so simple and universal an art as this, with a view to learn any Natural Theology from its contemplation. But let it be considered in all its relations and results, and it

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will be seen to be a fundamental art, whose testimony entirely accords with that already produced, to the effect, that God is not only the Author of man's being, but his providential Governor also, and that he has been specially called of God and qualified to replenish and possess the earth. Here was the commission under which our first parents entered upon the sphere of their responsibility under God: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish (or fill) the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." And again, from the same source, we learn that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." Now, if it were not that man is able to combine the use of artificial means with those which are natural, to preserve the uniform temperature of bodily heat, he could not, by any possibility, fulfill the Divine commission to dwell upon all the face of the earth. Either the arctic or the tropical climes would be forbidden him; and even in temperate zones, the succession of winters and summers would be intolerable to him; for by nature man is less protected from the vicissitudes of climes and seasons than all other animals. But his Divinely-gifted genius is more than an amends for this defect in his condition; and while an elephant or an ostrich could never subsist in the frozen zone of Labrador or Lapland, or a white bear or Arctic dog in the torrid zone of Central Africa, man can accommodate himself to any clime, or any season—can be, as he was ordained to be, literally a cosmopolitan.

Reflect upon this fact, in view of man's distinguishing commission to replenish and subdue the earth, and does it not furnish a twofold evidence—first, that God is the author of the aforesaid commission—and second, that the requisite endowments to enable man to carry this commission into effect, are also of God? And what is a more indispensable requisite to this end, than that which consists in a capability of generating artificial heat? In this capability, more than in any other wielded by man, is comprehended his power over the elements of nature. It is, indeed, the chief

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prerogative of man's terrestrial dominion. It brings earth, sea, air, and all the orders of irrational animate creation to be subordinate to his will. It enables him to defy all thermal vicissitudes, and to reduce all substances, solid, fluid, and gaseous, to be subservient to the godlike purposes of his being. It is, in short, the art of arts, without which human skill would be utterly unable to execute what human genius might contrive.

For example: iron, that most useful of all metals, as now employed, would remain forever hidden in its mountain ores, without the agency of fire to reduce it from its crude and earthy state; and the want of iron would bring with it the destitution of agriculture, machinery, and, in short, of all the arts of civilization. But it was as much provided for on the part of Deity, that man should control the element of fire to aid him in the accomplishment of the purposes of his genius, as that he should be a thinking, moral agent. Yes, that peculiar capacity—or, if you prefer it, instinct—by which man can elicit heat from its latent state in matter, and develop and propagate it in a condition of active conflagration,—by which he can draw out the spark from the obdurate flint, and make it avail him for purposes of important beneficence, and by which he can bring down the lightning-flash from its cloudy home, and make it obsequious to his sovereign will for good;—this capacity is as eminently and palpably a peculiar endowment of God conferred on man, as is that of rationality itself.

When man was first gifted with the actual use of this grand modifying element of nature, we are not distinctly informed, but think we are justified in inferring, from the revealed history of our race, that its first introduction was effected immediately subsequent to the fall, when the Lord drove the man out of the garden, and "placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubims and a flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life." That flaming sword—What was it but Divine justice symbolized in the heaven-sent fire of the altar consuming the sacrificial victim, offered up by special Divine appointment, as typical of the great atonement, by which, henceforth, was

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the only way of access for man to the tree of life? And that same element of fire which consumes the victim offering for sin, and thus opens up the way of reconciliation to man with God, also opens up the way for man's attainments and progress in all the arts of civilization. The mythic fable which represents Vulcan as the father of the gods is not, therefore, all absurd; for as fire is the father of the arts, and the arts are more influential upon the interests and destiny of mankind than were the ancient gods of Greece and Rome, so we may accept the mythological symbol as virtually true, and allow Vulcan, with his forge and anvil, still to claim his classical paternity.

The axe, the hammer, the nail, the chisel, the adz, the plane, the auger, the knife,—these, and many more instruments, are creatures of art, and, in the hands of man, are instruments of art's achievements,—the absence of which would leave the wilderness inviolate, and the desert forever barren, and man a hopeless savage. But it was as manifestly the Divine purpose, in the creation and endowment of human nature, and in the designation of man to a peculiar sphere and destiny, that he should, in the course of time, be possessed of these and other kindred instruments, as that his mind should be endowed with the power to invent, and his hand should be armed with its fingers and thumb, rather than with a horse's hoof, so that, thus equipped, his hand should not be a mere prehensible organ, but an organ the range of whose capability is limited only by that of the genius which controls it. And in this adaptation of the hand to genius, and genius to the hand, and both to the achievement of indefinitely varied and useful mechanical results, have we not a most impressive manifestation of the Divine providence in the allotment of man's destiny as "God's creature-worker" here below? But what would all this reciprocal adaptation avail, without the use of fire? In this event, the hand might as well be a hoof, and brutal instinct take the place of God-like genius; for neither the one nor the other could produce a single creation of art. But such a defect in the fitness of things never characterizes any of the works of God. Genius to invent, and a hand to

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execute, and fire to lend its modifying aid,—these, in their three-fold combination, invest man with his peculiar dominion over God's works, and instrumentally crown him with glory and honor, as among the creatures of earth.

Upon this subject, geology has a voice, silent but eloquent, that comes from its deep granite basis, up through all the intervening formations, till it finds its most distinct and intelligible utterance in the era and events of man's history, not only demonstrating that God's providence is universal, pervading all ages, and embracing all events in one grand whole, but condescending also to the most minute particulars, and therefore not ignoring the office of fire as a coadjutor of human art. Let us hear this voice.

Fire demands fuel, and cannot subsist without it. Hence it was that the manufacture of iron in England encountered such uncompromising opposition for a long time. The people feared lest their forests would all be speedily consumed to sustain it; and even royal edicts were put in requisition to arrest the manufacture on this account. It is easy to perceive that with such an embarrassment upon this manufacture, the present state of the civilized arts would be forever impracticable. But it was not God's will that this embarrassment should be perpetual. He who sees the end from the beginning, and declares from ancient times the things not yet done, provided for this necessity in the advance, and in due time directed His agent, man, to those resources which had, long previous, been laid up for the present exigency. Just then, when it seemed as though the enemies of this manufacture would certainly prevail to its utter destruction, mineral coal was discovered as a substitute for wood in the artificial generation of heat. We need not speak of the prejudices which had to be overcome, before this new substance was permitted to fulfill its mission as fuel. But these prejudices were of short duration, and the manufacture of iron was resuscitated, and furnaces were multiplied by thousands under the dispensation of this strange, and hitherto unknown combustible; and from this circumstance, all the arts of man received a new impetus of

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development, which has been acquiring accumulated force ever since.

A word upon the history of this wonderful, and to us invaluable, mineral will be appropriate here. There was a time, as we can perceive through the eye of science looking back into the remote past, long before man was created, but not before his creation was predetermined, when vast interminable forests of giant ferns and cone-bearing trees, covered, with the most dense growth, a large proportion of the earth's disk; and, let us ask, for what wise and benevolent design in the future? Have we not an answer in the experience and observation of the present? Human art now finds its inexhaustable resources in the coal-mines, which are the mineralized relics of these grand, primeval, but not unmeaning forests. Says Hitchcock: "It is already ascertained that by the process of vegetable growth and decay in the hoary past, thick beds of coal have been accumulated in the rocks of the United States over an area of more than 200,000 square miles, and probably many more remain to be discovered. Yet upon a moderate calculation, those already known contain more than 1100 cubic miles of coal; one mile of which, at the rate it is now used, would furnish the country with coal for a thousand years; so that a million years will not exhaust the supply."

But England, Russia, and other countries, are provided with the same material in a similar profusion. Undisturbed, save by the violence of earthquakes, which served only to break up the horizontal position of the strata of this invaluable mineral, and thus expose its existence by out-crops at the surface, and render it accessible to the miner, it has slept through ages beyond our ability to compute, a precious repository treasured up for the future man, and awaiting the period of his advent, that it might be called forth, under God's good and eternal providence, to answer the true purpose of its creation, as the servant of human genius.

Coal was made to be fuel for man's fire, just as truly as the eye was made for light, and light for the eye; as the atmosphere was made for the lungs, and the lungs for the

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atmosphere; as hunger was made to crave food, aud food to satiate hunger. And who can doubt that He, to whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years, manifests His all-controlling, all-providing wisdom, goodness, and power here?—that there is a theology in the coal-mine and in its dependent arts?

But this is not all that may be learned concerning Divine providence, on man's behalf, from this subject. Coal alone as fuel for fire will not suffice for all the wants of human genius. The crucible and its contents are as indispensable as the fire. For the crucible there are suitable earths at hand, and for the contents to be subjected to a dissolving process within the crucible, there is no distant search to be made. In the immediate proximity of the coal, there are the iron-ore and the limestone, thus contiguous, as though the world's Architect would say to him whom He has constituted to be his vicegerent in the earth, "Here I have laid up resources for you to be drawn out by your industry and skill, and applied to an infinite variety of important uses which your interests and comfort as the lord of this lower sphere may require. Take this iron-ore from its place of deposit, and near-by find your coal for fuel and your limestone for a flux, and smelt your ore, and thus you will bring it into a condition, whence you may reduce it to any form which you may determine upon for the accomplishment of the purposes of your godlike genius, with which, it has been my good pleasure to endow you. Let toil, invention, and skill find the means of their development and exercise in ample store everywhere."

Does man obey? Does he hear the call of Divine providence, and meet his responsibility accordingly? And what do we witness as the result? The forest is felled; the city is reared; dominion is given to man over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. Man is invested with a crown and a sceptre at God's own hands. He is a sovereign and a lord. No other animal but he has been gifted with spoken and written language, and with the use of fire to smelt and

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mould—to modify and new-create, as it were, the materials with which he is so richly provided, and to make the earth eventually, what under God's providence it is destined to become, a fit and glorious habitation for the noble—though now sadly fallen—agent man, when the word that goeth forth out of the Lord's mouth shall not return unto Him void, but shall accomplish that which He pleases, and shall prosper in the thing whereunto He has sent it—when the people shall go forth with joy and be led forth with peace, and the mountains and the hills shall break forth before them into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands, and instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree, and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

As fore-omenous and contributing to the realization of this blissful prospect for our race, the arts have been most rapidly developing themselves in every sphere of useful achievement, so that the last fifty years have secured for us a greater physical mastery in the world than the almost six thousand years which have anteceded. Now a single structure of machinery, instinct with a soul of its own, can accomplish more, independently of the immediate controlling oversight of human agency, than multitudes of hands could perform before without it. Cities spring up almost by magic, through the aid of steam propelled saw-mills and planing-factories; and it is not incredible that ere long, by a simple chemical process, instead of bricks and hewn stone, and costly marble, our dwellings will be reared with materials of jasper, and sapphire, and chalcedony, and all the other precious stones. Now the steam-plow promises to take the place of the long-ago rude contrivance, known by that name among the ancients, and still used by millions in the world, drawn by the mule and the cow unequally yoked together; and we may shortly see the stubborn soil broken up at a wholesale rate, which it is scarcely safe to venture on predicting, and the seed sown, or planted and harrowed in by the same process at the same time. And already the steam-reaper and mower sweeps with its wide and irresistible swath

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through our harvest fields; and soon we may expect that our grain shall not only be gathered, but also threshed, and ground, and sifted and sacked, by the same complicated harvester. Our cotton jennies, and spinning-mills, and power-looms—what extraordinary revolutions have they, by their combined instrumentality wrought upon the condition of humanity, promotive of its comforts, and facilitating its labors and productive enterprises, investing our humblest classes in cottons and silks, which were previously only within the reach of the wealthy and prosperous.

4. And the *printing-press* driven by fire-generated steam, and turning off its thousands of sheets per hour,—what shall we say of this? "The mighty lever," it has been called, "which moves the world." But does God refrain from putting His hand to this lever, and from revealing His presence and sovereign control over its movements? Is it an irresponsible engine, to which God has assigned no mission, and which can give us no lesson upon the perfections of the Divine dominion and nature? Whence came the typographical art in the beginning, and whence have come its subsequent developments, including the steam power-press? They are the inventions of *Christian*, and not of Pagan genius, and the prerogatives they confer are *Christian* prerogatives, and not those of any false system of religious doctrine and worship. Was there no overruling providence of God palpable in this? China is suppposed to have made the first discovery of the art of printing from moveable types, or rather blocks of wood; but there, in that land of Confucius, this art was brought to no perfection. And why? Evidently because it was not God's will that the immense power of the printing-press should be wielded for the propagation, throughout the world, of Confucianism. For the same reason this power has been withheld from every other nation who knew not the only living and true God, and has been bestowed upon Christianity. Say not, this is accident. There never was a more palpable design than that which is here manifest, and while this design secures special advantages to the Christian religion over every other, it assures us that its almighty Author will ulti-

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mately fulfil His promise to His Son, to give the heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession,—that Christianity will prevail in every nation, people, kindred, and tongue, and become the one universal religion of our race. How auspicious of this glorious result was the fact that the first book ever produced by the typographical art was the Word of God—the Bible! Thus were its beneficent labors inaugurated; and can we resist the conviction that this remarkable circumstance, in connection with the introduction of this art, occurred in answer to a Divine purpose, foreshadowing its future most glorious mission?

And now what do we witness in connection with the promise here involved? The printing-press is seeking and finding admission into every land; and wherever, by Christian energy, it is established—whether in India, China, Africa, Sandwich islands, or elsewhere—its first work is to publish the Bible. This is the great burden of its toils. For this, languages and dialects, which had only been employed orally before, have been reduced to a written form, that they might thus become the medium through which the Word of God by the press might have access to millions of souls, from whom it would otherwise be forever excluded. Has not He who commanded His church to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature, ordained this instrumentality to aid in the execution of this command? And do we not discover the presence of the Divine agency here, enlightening and evangelizing the nations, and subjecting them all, steadily and certainly, to the dominion of Christ?

5. But there are other instrumentalities among the creatures of human genius, which have an office to perform in enabling man to replenish and subdue the earth, and to convert the kingdoms of this world into the kingdoms of God's dear Son. Of these we indicate *the mariner's compass, the steamship, the railroad, and the electric telegraph.* Can we see nothing more than the genius of man here?—nothing more than creature-power and skill? That magnetic needle, infallibly and in all weathers and climes, pointing out the seaman's pathway on the surface of the great deep,—what is it

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but the finger of Deity, which has constituted the ocean to be the grand thoroughfare for the commerce of all nations? And to render it more available for this end, the steamship has been produced; and is it possible for any rational being to gaze upon that majestic vessel, pushing its way against wind and tide into the far-out sea, and not recognize that there is a God who has presided over its construction and has awarded it its noble destiny? But what is more impressively august and sublime, among all the wonderful achievements of human art, than the locomotive engine, with its long train of cars attached, whirling on swifter than an eagle's flight upon its iron way, over valleys, across rivers, through mountains, from state to state and country to country, filled with hundreds of travelers representing almost every kingdom under the whole heavens—what can fill the mind with more felt reverence for God—can occupy it with more intense realization of His omnipresent empire and His ineffable greatness and glory, than this now-common spectacle? More than man is here. To the commercialist and the traveler, by means of the threefold instrumentality just adverted to, space has been comparatively annihilated, and the era of a universal brotherhood is being ushered in. Yet one art remains to be considered, more amazing in its nature and results, in some respects, than any which had been achieved before; and that is the art by which electricity has been gifted with a tongue, and man may now transmit his communications, clothed in verbal expressions, over any practicable distance upon the face of the earth, with the swiftness of the lightning flash. Who, a few years ago, would have dared to conceive this to be possible? Who, indeed, would have been able to have even formed the conception itself, not to speak of the possibility of the thing conceived? What ideas of the future destiny of the immortal soul are here suggested! How the mind is constrained to rise above this gross material world, in the contemplation of this wonder of art, and to bow to the majesty and might and dominion of Him who is God over all, blessed forever! We cannot fail to confess the manifestation of Divine perfections here, and ascribe all to

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His infinite wisdom, and benevolence, and power. And it was eminently appropriate that the first communication transmitted over the magnetic wires, in demonstration of the success of the art, should ascribe, as it did, the glory to God.

There never was an era like the present, in the world's history, for the going to and fro of mankind throughout the whole earth; and there never was such an era for the increase and universal diffusion of knowledge. Was not this the era to which the Spirit of prophecy referred in Daniel, (xii. 4,) where it is written, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased?" And if so, is not God present in those inventions and constructions of human ingenuity and skill, by which this era has been introduced? Will not God's counsel stand, and He do all His pleasure, and that, too, through the agency of man? Verily, we might as well deny that God has ordained the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night, as to deny that He exerts a directing and controlling influence over the achievements of human art.

6. But art does not expend its energies, or exhaust its skill in the production of mere mechanical forces, or of such forces, of whatever nature, as refer to the development of man's external interests. Grand and mighty as these forces are, and well calculated to constrain us to bow in homage before genius as displayed in them, and as representative of the higher and adorable Genius whence all created genius obtains its inspiration, they should not induce us to overlook those aesthetic arts, whose office it is, chiefly, to gratify and cultivate the finer principles of our nature.

Painting, sculpture, engraving, elegant architecture—arts by which man essays to reproduce on canvass, in the marble, in the sumptuous annual, or in the style and plans of our private and public edifices, the scenes, forms, and proportions of nature, are arts cultivated by society in its refinements and leisure, and which are peculiarly ennobling, when controlled and exercised by a pure and virtuous taste.

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The instruments of science—*the telescope, the microscope, the orrery, the electrometer and electrical machine, the chemical laboratory, the barometer and thermometer*—what are these and such like constructions of human genius, but so many Divinely ordained instruments by which man may become more true to himself, and grow in knowledge and in power as God's intelligent, moral agent in the world, and in the same proportion, grow also in the admiration and love of God, whose works he studies? By these, man penetrates into the profound depths of space, whence light would require millions of years, traveling at the velocity of 200,000 miles per second, to reach our little earth; and does he not see, in all this inconceivably vast range everywhere, the presence, and power, and governing wisdom and benevolence of an infinite, eternal, self-existent, almighty Jehovah? By these, he has analyzed the constituents of all material substances, and has ascertained that they may be reduced to about sixty-six primary elements, each of which is so subtle and minute as to be absolutely invisible; and yet the most solid and ponderous of all substances is composed by the mysterious union of these invisible elements, so that it would be eminently proper and true for us to say with Paul, "Through faith we understand the worlds were formed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." By these—but where shall we stop? We have not half told our story, and yet we must cut it short. The limits ordinarily allotted to an article in a Quarterly Review will not suffice for a complete discussion of such a theme as this upon which we have been discoursing. Indeed, in all that we have written, we have but little more than suggested it in some of its main points, and we trust that wherein it is defective, the mind of the reader will be prompted to prosecute its consideration farther, and reduce it to a more satisfactory fullness.

That God is in the arts of human devising and achievement is, not only the teaching of reason, common sense and piety, but also of the Holy Scriptures. In Exodus xxxi. 1–5, we read, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

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See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; and I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stone to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship." Here God claims for himself the glory of endowing Bezaleel with whatever skill and ingenuity distinguished him in those pursuits in which he was so eminently successful. And so should it be with us all, and in all things. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory." "Let our philosophy ever stand upon the watch-tower, with the torch of Divine truth in her hand, which will, in every event and object, declare a present God; and ever and anon, as new discoveries burst upon the mental world, and original works of art are deposited in the temples of industry; let there be heard from within a voice proclaiming their author Divine, and let them find, in the soul of the spectator, a spiritual response, corresponding to the language of David, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

How happy would we be in our workshops and factories, however laboriously occupied, if we were all thoroughly pervaded by the spirit of the Gospel, and all habitually conscious of the presence of God, not only in his works, but in all ours also. Then our labors would be labors of love. The sweat of our brows would be sweet to us, and we would realize that we are honored, not degraded, by being called, in the providence of God, to toil. Indolence would be intolerable to us, and productive pursuits would be our special delight. Even oppression, under such circumstances, would be greatly alleviated to us; for God would be our comforter and support, while we, with good will are "doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men, knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." (Eph. vi. 7, 8.) And our language of faith, in the midst even of unrequited toil, would find embodiment in such poetic effusions as were ad-

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dressed by an artisan to his companions, during the elemental strife of Chartism in England, a few years ago, which seemed ready to explode in a social revolution, on account of alleged grievances:—

"God, my brethren, will not leave us,
Still His heaven is o'er us bent;
His commandments are not grievous,
Do His will and be content.
Only truth and love shall flourish,
In the end, beloved mates;
Only charity can nourish
Those whom charity creates.
Believe in God.

"You have wrongs by forge and furnace,
You have darkness, you have dread,
But you work in radiant harness,
And your God is overhead.
Does not night bring forth the morning?
Does not darkness father light?
Even now we have forewarning,
Brothers, of the close of night.
Believe in God.

"Do ye toil? Oh, freer, firmer
Ye shall grow beneath your toil;
Only craven spirits murmur,
Light is rooted in the soil.
Thro' the gloom and thro' the darkness,
Thro' the danger and the dole,
Thro' the mist and thro' the murkness
Travels the great human soul.
Believe in God."

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Article VI.—The Settlement of the Reformed Churches in Western Pennyslvania.

'We have heard with our ears, O God! our fathers have told us what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old; for they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them: but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them." "What we have and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done." There is an obligation resting upon each generation of God's people to make known to their children the works of God, that the generation to come may know them, and set their hope in God, and keep his commandments. Our individual experience is so limited, the disappointments of life are felt so keenly, the providence of God moves so slowly, that we are in danger of losing our faith in God as our God, who directs our course, and is by us accomplishing his glorious work in the world. But when we take in at one view the experience of a whole generation, and see that the way by which they were led, which seemed to them so rough, so crooked, and so wearisome, was the right way, and that God was by them fulfilling his promise to the Church; and when we sum up the progress of God's work, so little each year, so great in the aggregate, our faith becomes strong, and we say to our children, "Come, behold the works of the Lord!" and they, hearing the remarkable story, reply, "This God is our God forever and ever."

It is the object of this paper to gather up some of the

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fragments of the history of the early settlement of the Reformed Churches in Western Pennsylvania.

The early settlers of Western Pennsylvania were men of whom we need never be ashamed; they are our glory. "A more intelligent, virtuous, and resolute class of men never settled any country." They belonged to the class now usually denominated Scotch-Irish;—a noble race of men, "manly, pious, honest, honorable, full of love of truth and freedom, and willing to peril all, even to martyrdom itself, for what they believed to be right." To the stern integrity, the unflinching love of truth, and the devout reverence for God which characterized our ancestors, are we indebted for the honorable position we occupy.

In the singular providence of God by which the good seed of truth was sown among the American Colonies, these Presbyterians, whose character was moulded in the schools of Calvin and Knox, were given a home in Pennsylvania, midway between the Puritans and Huguenots. Settlements were formed in the eastern and middle counties, whence emigration, arrested by the mountain barrier only long enough for congregations to be formed and well established, at first turned southward through the valley of Virginia, and thence westward and northward. The first emigrants across the mountains located themselves near the present boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, penetrating the wilderness as far as the rich valley of the Chartiers, as they could obtain titles for their land from Virginia. But immediately after the conclusion of the French War they commenced encroaching on the fine lands held by the Indians on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. After the cession of these lands to the Penns in 1768, the population increased rapidly. In the meantime a somewhat later emigration set in to this region by a more northern route, through Bedford and Ligonier Valley. Uniting, as the rivers do, at Pittsburg, these streams of men and truth flowed with a strong current into the great valley of the Mississippi.

With their characteristic tenacity, these emigrants maintained their religious principles, so that the divisions which

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had been carried across the ocean were perpetuated west of the mountains. The adherents of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia obtained supply of preaching first. A few years later the *Associate* and the *Reformed* Presbyteries sent forth missionaries, in answer to the urgent petitions which were earnestly pressed upon them.

We cannot easily realize the difficulties under which these pioneers of the Church labored. It was long before even a supply of sermon could be obtained. The Reformed Presbytery was not constituted until 1774, and was composed of but three ministers. The Associate Presbytery, constituted near fifteen years earlier, had not as large a ministerial force as two-thirds of the Presbyteries of the United Church. In some instances members traveled near two hundred miles to a meeting of Presbytery; and often at the same meeting most urgent petitions were presented from settlements in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and the unorganized territory west of the mountains. Ministers sometimes rode five hundred miles on horseback to preach a few Sabbaths; and often the only answer Presbytery could give to these petitions was a letter asking the people to wait patiently, or, if possible, send "home" for a minister. Our fathers were men of faith. The ministers counted it all joy thus to labor and preach, even when in straits for the means of subsistance; and the people were confident that in God's good time they would enjoy the ordinances of the Church.

While thus destitute of the preaching of the Gospel they endured the severest trials, and were exposed to the most demoralizing influences. The whole country was a wilderness. Indian trails through the woods, steep, dangerous paths over the mountains, were their highways of travel and trade. Their farms were but partially cleared; there was almost no market for the surplus produce; money was almost unknown; at the same time salt, iron, and merchandize were transported from the East on pack-horses. Their houses were cabins of the rudest construction; their furniture was made with the axe and saw; their scanty clothing was of the coarsest home-spun and deer-skin. They were

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scattered over a large territory, remote from each other, and almost without law, and therefore without the restraints upon vice and the aids to virtue found in compact society, with a well administered government, common schools, and churches. Emigration is always demoralizing, but in their case it was peculiarly unfavorable to religion. Beside the depressing trials incident to settlement in the new country, the tendency to rudeness consequent upon their remoteness from older communities, they were exposed to the most exciting dangers, and were brought in contact with a race as treacherous as it was barbarous. By night the trusty rifle hung near the bed; and by day in the field, and at the religious meeting, it was their constant companion. At the time the peace of 1763 was concluded, by which these lands were secured to Great Britain, "Pontiac, the great Indian chief, was arranging that grand confederacy of Indian tribes that scattered death and desolation along the frontier from Niagara and Fort Pitt to Mackina." Soon after this the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia ran so high that violence was committed, and civil war seemed inevitable. At the same time the inhabitants of these remote regions caught the notes of war from the East, and heartily espoused the cause of the Colonies against the Crown. Four weeks after the battle of Lexington, "a general meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Westmoreland" was held at Hannastown; and on the same day "a meeting of the inhabitants of that part of Augusta county (Va.) which lies on the west side of Laurel Hill" was held at Pittsburg, and measures were taken to prepare themselves for the conflict.

Under such circumstances, were the foundations of our church, west of the mountains, laid. God did "a wonderful work" for his cause, when he sent men forward who, amid such scenes, did not forget the God of their fathers, but were zealous in their efforts to maintain their profession and to obtain ministers of the Gospel, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, to labor among them.

At a meeting of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia, April 29th, 1773, a petition was presented from *Monongahela*, asking supply of preaching,

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but no action was taken. Soon after this, Westmoreland County, the first west of the mountains, was organized, with Hannastown as the county seat. The country beyond the Allegheny river was yet Indian territory, and Virginia claimed Pittsburg and the land south of it.

At a subsequent meeting of Presbytery, (August 25th,) "a commissioner from Westmoreland County, appeared, insisting" on their former petition, and the Revs. John Smith and John Rogers were appointed to visit the Western settlements, and preach during the month of October. There is no record of the manner in which this appointment was fulfilled; but there is reason to believe that these pioneer ministers came at the time appointed, and preached at many different places from Ligonier to Washington and Redstone. The effect of this visit was very happy. The people were gathered into societies; they who had lived as strangers to each other, were now united by a common bond; they thought of the former days in which they went to the house of God with the voice of joy and praise; their covenant engagements were brought to mind, and a new hope inspired them. The next spring, petitions were forwarded from "the Forks of Youghiogheny for dispensation of the Sacrament, and from Chartiers for the election of elders," and for "supply from Redstone and about Conemaugh"—petitions which Presbytery "agreed to delay on account of the scattered condition of the people in those parts, by reason of the prospect of an Indian war."

Like all earnest efforts to extend the kingdom of Christ, the mission of Smith and Rogers produced a very happy effect on the Presbytery, and through them in the congregations of the East, by securing for these destitute settlements the sympathy of the Church. Until this time there had been no systematic effort to extend the Gospel into destitute regions. Groups of adherents in remote localities sent petitions for supply, which Presbytery granted according to their ability; and ministers rode many hundreds of miles to preach a few Sabbaths, without receiving any adequate compensation. But now the rapidly growing settlements

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in the West, and their sad destitution, aroused the Presbytery to the adoption of a systematic plan for missionary operations. At a meeting held in New York, October 28th, 1774, and continued until the evening of November 1st, and which partook much of the nature of a Synod, "Mr. Mason moved that a Presbyterial Fund be immediately raised for the following purposes:—1st. For defraying the expenses of supplies to those who want sermon from this Presbytery in the frontier parts of these provinces, and who are in such indigent circumstances as that they are unable to do this themselves. 2. For the support of families who may emigrate hither, and may stand in need of such assistance until they are settled. This motion was cheerfully agreed to, and an annual collection appointed throughout all our congregations. This to begin before the next meeting of Presbytery." Mr. Mason, of New York, and Mr. Marshall, of Pennsylvania, were chosen Treasurers to "receive and disburse all the money collected in their respective provinces." Although the revolutionary war prevented the full execution of the scheme, this action is important as the beginning by contributions for *Home Missions*. The year preceding there was a general collection, amounting to £37, to obtain ministers from Scotland; but this was the first arrangement to send out ministers to destitute localities at the expense of the Church. The other feature of the plan—giving aid to families emigrating—is worthy the wisdom of the man who proposed it. Men are worth more than money. There is no aid so efficient to struggling vacancies as the addition of right-hearted, energetic members. In some cases, if the money annually appropriated to sustain congregations was used in aiding good families to remove thither, there would be more gain to the Church.

In 1775, Messrs. Proudfit and Henderson were appointed to Westmoreland County, during the month of October, and Mr. Logan, probationer, December and January. In 1776, Mr. Murray spent July and August in the West; and Mr. Patton, three months during the winter. Proudfit and Martin visited the same settlements in August and Septem-

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ber of 1777. Notwithstanding, the amount of ministerial labor was so wholly inadequate to the necessities of the new country, the Church rapidly extended, as appears from the names of places from which petitions were sent; in several cases asking the administration of the Lord's Supper and the election of elders: Fairfield, Blacklick, Conemaugh, Brush Creek, The Forks of Yough, Redstone, Fort Pitt, Chartiers, Miller's Run, and Buffalo. The services of the ministers were very acceptable. Chartiers desired that Mr. Patton might be settled there without the formality of a call, but he chose another field. Disappointments are sometimes blessings. Mr. Patton afterwards became an open apostate. God had chosen a servant for this field worthy of the cause.

An informal call for Mr. M. Henderson was forwarded in the beginning of 1778, probably from Youghiogheny and Chartiers, as it is spoken of as among the papers from the former place. Mr. Henderson crossed the mountains in September, and again in the following April, that he might preach to those who were like exiles in the wilderness. In the meantime, the Presbytery, in that mistaken policy which has so often sacrificed the future for sake of the present, by withholding laborers from new and important fields, because well-established congregations are unwilling to yield their own convenience, decided that he should remain at Oxford. But God was preparing his heart for his future work. He saw the importance of planting churches with the settlement of the country; he also saw the people wandering as sheep without a shepherd, and was moved with compassion for them. And, therefore, when a second call, from Chartiers and Buffalo, was presented, as Moderator he gave the casting vote for his own removal. Twenty-two years before, he left his native land to preach the Gospel as a missionary in America; now, in the same spirit of self-sacrifice, he left all that he might serve his Master where but few would have been willing to labor. It required an extraordinary degree of faith, love and moral courage to take such a step, but he was "a chosen vessel" unto God and cheerfully obeyed the call of his providence. It is worthy of note

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that the first permanent laborer in this great missionary field was forty-five years of age when he accepted the call to it, and gave up a charge of which he had been pastor for twenty years, that he might enter upon it; and finally did enter upon it against the most urgent entreaties for him to settle at another place in the East. At present we look to probationers from the seminaries, or to unsettled men still young, for missionaries to the vast fields open to us. If a minister has a good settlement, and is enjoying the comforts of a home, with a family around him, the idea is not entertained for a moment that he, however well qualified, should take charge of a mission on our frontiers, or among the destitute of our great cities. Young, untried, inexperienced men are appointed, and as a consequence the missions often fail. Every consideration of personal comfort and safety urged Mr. Henderson to remain in the East, but he made his choice at the gloomiest period of American history, when the dangers and trials were ten-fold what they are now—then he had a dependent family, and there was no missionary fund to support him. We hold his name in everlasting remembrance. Had he decided otherwise, the settlement of our churches in the West would have been thrown back probably half a generation.

In the meantime, other little springs have been gathering into a stream which we must now trace to its junction with the one we have been following. The adherents of the *Reformed* Church were unwilling to connect themselves with the societies of their Associate brethren: it would, in their view, have been a violation of their covenant engagements. They hoped to obtain supply from their own ministry; and thus from the same settlements petitions were sent to both Presbyteries for ministers to preach the same truths. From our present position, looking at their circumstances, and the smallness of the difference between the two churches in this country, we cannot approve of their course, by which they deprived themselves of the ordinances of the church for so many years. But we must remember the character of the times in which they lived, and also that had they been less tenacious, even of minor things, the United Presbyterian

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Church would probably have had no existence. Rev. John Culbertson, the first minister of the Reformed Church in America, was also the first to cross the Alleghenies. Although over sixty years of age, he set out on a missionary tour in September 1779, just six years after the mission by Smith and Rogers, travelling by way of Old Shawneetown, Fort Cumberland, and Great Meadows. Having spent two Sabbaths and the intervening week, in the vicinity of the Youghiogheny river, where he met families formerly connected with his congregation, he extended his visit across the Chartiers, and Miller's Run, probably into the vicinity of the present Robinson's Run Church, and returned by way of Redstone; preaching on week days as well as Sabbaths, visiting families, catechising publicly and baptizing. On his way home he followed the northern ronte through Bedford, and thus was able to visit all the settlements west of the mountains. It is exceedingly interesting to read, in the scarcely legible journal of this missionary tour, the names of families which yet occupy honorable positions in the church, and are staunch supporters of the doctrines believed by their fathers. "The righteousness of the Lord is unto the children's children of them that fear him; to such as keep his covenant and remember his commandments to do them."

This branch of the church now began to assume a more organized form. Societies were formed at Hannastown, in Sewickley, in "the Forks-of-Yough," in Redstone, and in Peter's-creek. For the common edification, these societies, called "*Correspondents*," sent delegates to a "*General Meeting*," which transacted the business common to all, which met in the Forks-of-Yough—the location being central and secure from the inroads of the Indians. Happily we have the record of the proceedings of the meetings during a period of five years, in a manuscript, the title of which is, "A Book containing ye Minutes of ye Correspondent." The first record is as follows:—

"Met May 31st, 1780. Agreed, yt we as a Correspondent, supplicate the Presbytery for a supply of preaching,

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and likewise yt the Member yt comes as our supply, to be impowered to Moderate in a Call for us."

In answer to their petition, Rev. Mathew Lind, by appointment of Presbytery, labored among them part of September and October, and seems to have been much interested in them. At a meeting of Presbytery held immediately after his return, another appointment was made, but the name is not recorded. The following resolutions will show the expectations of the people, the extent of the field, and the proposed distribution of the minister's labors:—"Agreed, that one-third of the yearly labors of a minister be on the west side of the Monongahela river, and likewise that the two-thirds be on the east side. Agreed, that the one-fourth, (*i. e.*, of the two-thirds,) be at Redstone, and the remaining time between the Forks-of-Yough and the Hannastown quarter." But Presbytery did not grant them the moderation of a call, and their hope of a pastor was disappointed. In 1781 they were visited by Mr. Dobbins.

The summer of 1782 was a sorrowful one to the frontier inhabitants. The blood of many families sprinkled their own fields. When it became known during the preceding winter that Laughery and his company, of one hundred and seven choice men, of Westmoreland, had been surprised and all killed while on their way to join General Clarke, "the people were thrown into the greatest consternation and almost despair." "At present," wrote General Irvine, from Fort Pitt, December 1781, "they talk of flying early in the spring to the eastern side of the mountains." The whole country seemed on the verge of total disorganization. "I am confident," wrote General Irvine again, March 30, 1782, "if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks." The people were almost in a frenzy. The spring was opened with the burning of the Moravian villages, and the horrid massacre of the harmless and defenceless inhabitants. A terrible revenge was taken. Crawford and his companions were put to death in the most atrocious manner. Almost the whole of Westmoreland county was laid waste. Neither age nor

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sex were spared. Hannastown was burned, some of its inhabitants murdered, and others taken prisoners. Many took refuge in Fort Pitt, some crossed the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers to the more secure settlements, and others fled to the east. Hannastown society was broken up.

But even amidst such scenes there were many hearts made glad that year. Our fathers were accustomed to sing—

> "They in the Lord that firmly trust,
> Shall be like Zion Hill;
> Which at no time can be removed,
> But standeth ever still."

They were confident the Lord would prove an helper to them at the turning of the morning, and they were not disappointed. Rev. M. Henderson, prevented by circumstances from removing at once, now entered upon his pastoral labors in Chartiers. The union between the Associate and the Reformed Presbyteries was consummated, and they who had been as strangers to each other joined hands as brothers. The streams which had their rise in the same mountains, and sometimes apparently were hastening to mingle their waters, now flowed together. Thus strengthened, arrangements were made to erect a place of worship. A lot was purchased by the Fork's Society—the same now occupied by the congregation of Bethesda—a tent was erected and arrangements were made for a communion.

The communion was held on the 8th of September. The minister who officiated was the Rev. M. Lind. The scene was one of great moral grandeur. The descendants of those who have endured persecutions for righteousness' sake, met in the wilderness of the New World to renew their covenant with the God of their fathers, and to lay the foundation of churches for future generations. The tent had been completed; the rude seats were arranged under the shade of the trees, and the table of split logs was prepared. The times were perilous; the men carried their rifles with them; but

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the people flocked together as the tribes went up to Jerusalem. From all the societies they came to pay their vows. With what earnestness they sung some such words as these:—"Yea, in the shadow of thy wing, O God, will I make my refuge until these calamities be overpast. In the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion, in the secret of his tabernacle shall he hide me; he shall set me upon a rock." Solemnly but joyfully they gathered around the table and received from the man of God the sacramental symbols. Many years had passed since they had been permitted to "do this in remembrance of" their Lord—years full of hardships, trials and sorrows—years which seemed to them like the years of the captivity, in which they sat by the streams and wept when they thought upon Zion. As when the foundation of the second temple was laid, the old who remembered the former days, "wept with a loud voice;" but when they thought of the years spent in the wilderness, and the bitter trials through which they had passed, and upon the prospect of better days now opening before them, "many shouted aloud for joy," "praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth forever toward Israel."

> "This is the day God made, in it
> We'll joy triumphantly.
> Save now! I pray thee, Lord; I pray
> Send now prosperity."

"And all the people shouted with a great shout when they praised the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid."

The union of the Associate and Reformed Presbyteries was well received west of the mountains, and contributed greatly to the advancement of the common cause. Mr. Henderson who had just removed to Chartiers, and all the congregations and societies approved of it, and rejoiced in it. Weak and struggling societies, existing in the same community, were made strong, and began to make arrangements for a settled ministry. The congregation in the Forks-of-Yough, and the societies connected with it, at once

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presented an urgent call to Mr. Lind. His comely and attractive person, his mild and amiable disposition, his superior ability, and above all, his simple, earnest, consistent, and ever-present piety, admirably fitted him for this field; but he chose another—a scarcely less laborious one—and God had chosen another servant for this. Another call was prepared for Rev. John Jamison early in 1784, but this also was declined. In the meantime, Indian depredations ceased, life and property became secure, and emigration began again. The Hannastown society was revived, and Brush Creek was organized. It was "agreed that Brush Creek and Forks-of-Yough would congregate by themselves, and that the minister's labors should be equally divided between them." Their expectations of rapid increase, and also their appreciation of a pastor's labors, are indicated by an additional resolution—"that, let each party grow as strong as it may, they are to continue united until there is a chance for another minister." Mathew Henderson, son of the pastor of of Chartiers, licensed by the same Presbytery in June, 1784, immediately joined his father in "the new country," and preached to these vacancies as stated supply. A call was prepared for him, and, on the 27th of November, 1785, he was ordained and installed pastor of Brush Creek, the Forks-of-Yough, and Rock Ridge, a few miles below Brownsville.

The blessing of God rested upon the churches. Those already formed increased rapidly, and many new ones were organized. Divisions also arose; the elder Henderson and his congregation, dissatisfied with the action of Synod, withdrew; and during the excitement connected with the formation of the constitution of the church, some of the congregations were weakened by the withdrawal of many good men; but the younger Henderson adhered to the church from which he received his ministry, and with him the body of the congregations in the West. Alienation accompanied division, and for many years there was strife as unseemly as it was unnatural. The cause they held in common received a shock from which it recovered but slowly; and, in

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the meantime, it had lost a footing which it could never fully regain. Now, in the goodness of God, the division has been partially healed, and the descendants of the pioneer ministers, and the churches they represented are once more united in Christian fellowship.

This historical sketch would be imperfect, if we would overlook the liberality of the early settlers in their contributions for the Gospel. Of course there are no statistical tables, but there are some fragments which as truly show this spirit. At the time of which we write there were no "Funds" to be supported. The whole church for many years was itself a Foreign Mission, dependent on Scotland and Ireland for its ministry. It was not until 1778, when constrained by their "distressed condition for want of probationers," in consequence of their "connection with the Synod of Edinburg being shut up," that steps were taken to educate a native ministry, by "encouraging pious and promising young men to enter on a course of studies with a view to the holy ministry," and appointing "Mr. Smith to instruct such as might offer themselves." The church was extended solely by emigration. Home Missions, in the strict sense, had as yet no existence, for congregations multiplied more rapidly than they could be settled. But a liberal spirit was manifested, which under favorable circumstances would have given a generous support to all the operations of the church when fully organized. Some illustrations of this will at the same time more fully show the difficulties under which they labored, and the spirit in which they met them.

The principle was distinctly recognized that service must be recompensed. To obtain appointments, it was necessary to send a commissioner to Presbytery, for communication with the East by mail was not yet established, but he was not asked to go "at his own charges." In one case the General Meeting "agreed that £11 be allowed to the commissioner to support in traveling down and up, of which he is to make a fair return in a journal; also, £4 for his wages." When he made his report, they found "that £10

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would be sufficient, £4 of which for his wages." He had probably lodged with friends, or brethren, and thus saved tavern expenses. At another time £5 were appropriated for the commissioner's "expenses and wages, in whole or in part." It sounds sadly enough to read of *wages* in connection with an appointment to Presbytery, but the principle is certainly correct that one who labors for another should be compensated. It is probable commissioners would now be as unwilling to undertake such a journey, as congregations to pay the wages.

In 1783, a resolution was adopted that forty-five shillings per Sabbath, the amount fixed by Synod, be paid for preaching; but "Wm. Mitchell protested against this as being too much;" and his protest seems to have been effectual, for Mr. Dobbins was paid but £12 for six sabbaths. It is scarcely half-a-dozen years since congregations were required to pay more than the original forty-five shillings.

The preceding year Mr. Lind was paid "twenty pounds for his labors" at the communion. As the time for the communion approached, it was ascertained that there was no wine in the community. The general meeting assembled and resolved "that Thomas Drennen be sent down over the mountains for two and three quarter gallons of wine, and that he be paid twelve dollars for his trouble, together with his bill of expenses." If we add the amount paid the commissioner, the total expense of that communion was near *forty pounds.*

Of the support given to a pastor we can judge only from the call presented to Mr. Lind. The aggregate subscription of four societies was £214, binding only on such as obtained part of his ministry. By resolution his "yearly wages" was fixed at "one hundred and eleven pounds." A month later, three of the societies proposed a salary of one hundred and sixty pounds per annum. And in this case, as in every other call presented, the pastor was not asked to bear the risk of losses, but good men bound themselves for the payment. When we consider the limited resources of the people, and the financial condition of the whole country during the latter part of the revolutionary war, we give our fathers

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honor for their liberality, and their readiness to make sacrifices for sake of their principles.

As we trace the early history of our congregations year by year, their progress seems very slow. Their prosperity was not advanced by adventitious circumstances, for no period could be more unfavorable. To the sparseness of the population, pecuniary embarrasements, emigration and hardships common to all new settlements, were added the hardening, demoralizing influence of constant excitement, danger and war. But churches were established. It is not fourscore years since the first pastor entered upon his labors; there are some yet living who were born before Smith and Rogers crossed the mountains; and now, notwithstanding the dissensions which at different times arose, and the large number who have left our fellowship for that of other churches, there are west of the Alleghenies, in the United Presbyterian Church, about 240 ministers, more than twice that number of congregations, and about 45,000 members. At present, when circumstances are so much more favorable for the extension of the church, and when the energies of the church are systematically called forth and concentrated on this object by the Boards of Domestic Missions and Church Extension, the progress of the church in each year is small. But surely we may put our trust in God, with whom a generation is as a watch in the night. Our fathers trusted in him and were not put to shame.

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Article VII.—Individual Effort.

Every human being has been created for some important end. That end is, that he may be actively employed in showing forth the glory of his Maker. To do this, he must engage in such actions as tend to accomplish this end. There are a great many ways in which this may be done. But, in order that the individual man, or the individual woman, may accomplish this great end, there must be *individual effort.* Hence my subject is *Individual Effort.*

1. The first question which naturally presents itself is—What is meant by individual effort? What is the nature of such effort?

I do not suppose that such effort implies that each individual is to act, in whatever he does, without any reference to the relation in which he stands to his fellow beings. God has created us social beings, with social natures, and adapted to social intercourse. Having thus created us, He designs we should thus act. And while every individual must act for himself or herself, still much is often gained by combined action. Much may be gained, in the exhibition of God's glory, by the associated effort of His people. Hence by individual effort, I do not mean that each individual must isolate himself or herself from all other individuals, and act entirely independent of them. By no means. God never intended this. But by it I mean that each individual, in whatever relation he stands to his fellow men, shall act well his part in that position. By it I mean that each member of the family circle shall act well his part in discharging the duties of that circle—that each member of the social circle shall act well his part there—that each member of civil society shall act well his part there—that each

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member of the church of God shall act well his part there —that no individual, in any circle, forget that a part of the responsibilities of that circle rests on him, and that to his God he must answer, as an individual, for the manner in which he meets those responsibilities.

There is great danger that in the busy crowd we forget ourselves, so far as to feel that very little responsibility rests upon us, since there are so many to bear it with us. There is very great danger that members of civil society forget their individuality, so far as the responsibilities of such society are concerned. There is very great danger that members of the church forget their individuality, so far as the responsibilities of the church are concerned.

Organized effort is needed—must be had in order to the accomplishment of the great end of our being. But while this is true, let every man, let every woman, feel that, as an individual, he or she must stand or fall. The larger the association, the greater the amount of good which may be accomplished, provided every individual in that association feels the necessity of individual effort, and acts accordingly. On the other hand, the larger the association the greater the danger of each individual shifting the responsibility upon the mass. But each individual of every association, whether civil or religious, should ever feel that a part of the duties of that association devolves upon him as an individual, and that he will be held responsible as an *individual* for the manner in which he acts his part.

In every well organized and well managed association, whether civil or religious, the aim should ever be to get every individual to feel his individuality, and to act accordingly. That association will always accomplish the most, other things being equal, in which every individual, feeling his own responsibility, is set to work to do his part—make an individual effort. We may see the evidence of this in the every day workings of societies. Take, for instance, different congregations of Christians. We find a congregation composed of quite intelligent men and women. It is large. It has secured for its pastor a pious, talented, devoted minister. He is ever busy at his Master's work;—

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ever zealous for the salvation of souls. He preaches on the Sabbath—visits the sick very faithfully—carries the Gospel from house to house—endeavors to lead the lambs of his flock to Jesus. In short, he is a working man. But while he works hard himself, he has failed to set his members to work. He has laid no plans by which individuals may coöperate and bear the burden with him. Presently he is broken down. His Sabbath exercises lose much of their former interest. A multitude of duties has prevented the necessary preparation for these. Hence he does not succeed, as his devotion would indicate he should. There is great individual effort on his own part. But he has failed in not making provision for securing the *individual effort* of his members.

We find a second congregation equal, we will suppose, to the former in numbers and talent. They, too, have secured a man of talent for their pastor. His sermons are well arranged, clear, forcible. He spends much time in their preparation; is scarcely ever seen out of his study; has all his periods beautifully rounded; gives great attention to his manner of delivery; in short, he is a good sermonizer. But notwithstanding all this, his congregation does not flourish. His audience diminishes; vital godliness seems to be dying out among his members. Why is this? We can see at once why it is. He has not set his members at work. There is is no individual effort among them. In fact, he discourages anything like such effort. He has but little familiarity with his people. They are afraid of him. If some devoted brother should chance to approach him with some suggestion with reference to their putting forth more vigorous efforts in their Master's cause, he is chilled with his minister's coldness and indifference. Perhaps he is charged with not being orthodox, or with being over zealous.

Again, we find a third congregation just about equal to either of the former. It, too, has secured a pastor, we will suppose, with about equal talent with the others. He is a good sermonizer. He goes among his people and is familiar with them. He manifests a deep interest in their well-being. His sermons are such as are calculated to stimulate

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to individual effort. And he devises many plans for getting his members to work. His aim is to have something for every man and every woman to do. He knows they will be the better Christians for their individual efforts to aid him in the accomplishment of the great work of their Master. He organizes prayer-meetings. In short, he sets a vast machinery at work and gets every member to act his or her part in keeping it in motion. Hence he has more time for his preparations for the pulpit. The congregation flourishes. Its membership increases. Vital godliness abounds more and more; and all this from the very fact that every one has felt the importance of putting forth individual effort. Thus much for the nature of individual effort.

2. A second question which naturally arises here is this: *Is this effort necessary?* If not, why insist upon it? Why not allow each individual to sit down careless and indifferent and take his ease? If we have a well organized society, will not that society accomplish its ends without the efforts of its individual members? I answer, it will not, and for this simple reason: it is not a well organized society, unless it makes provision for individual effort among its members.

Will a temperance society accomplish anything worth mentioning towards abating the great evil of intemperance, unless there is effort on the part of the individuals who compose that society? Surely it will not. If there are two, three or half a dozen individuals who put forth great individual effort, something may be done, although the remainder should be indifferent. But this only shows what might be done if all would exert themselves, and consequently, the necessity of individual effort on the part of all. The same might be said of an agricultural society, and in fact of a society organized for any purpose whatever. If it accomplishes anything worth mentioning, it must be through the efforts of the individuals composing it.

But men understand this in relation to the affairs of this world. Hence, when they associate for the accomplishment of any of the ends of life, they aim to do it in such a manner as to call forth the efforts of all concerned. But my purpose at present is to speak more particularly with reference

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to the *necessity* of *individual effort* on the part of the members of the church of God, in order to the accomplishment of the great end for which that church has been established. It may be well, in order to see the necessity of this effort, to look at the work which the church has to accomplish. For what purpose has God established His church upon the earth?

I answer, it is that she may be instrumental in His hand in recovering the human race from sin to holiness. What a work! Look at our world in its present condition. It is a world in ruins. Sin has entered it polluting its inhabitants. Death has followed, sweeping away the teeming millions of earth, and consigning them to irremediable woe. Even in Protestant Christendom, what a sad picture do we see. Go to the most favored nations of earth—where the most equitable governments have been established—where the most wholesome laws have been enacted—where the word of God has been spread abroad—where the Gospel, in its purity, is proclaimed, and even there, what sad evidence of sin's soul-destroying influence! How much crime and wickedness—how much disregard for man's truest interests, and God's glory!

But look at Roman Catholic Christendom. Here the picture grows darker still. Here is devotion to a religious system which substitutes the dogmas and commandments of men for the bread of life—a system where sin is a merchantable commodity, and the guilty may purchase indulgence in it to any extent with their money—a system where prayers, and pardons, and births, and burials, and everything except the right to believe and teach the pure gospel, are paid for in gold—a system where freedom is fettered, conscience bound, and the right of private judgment forbidden—a system where the Redeemer is dethroned by the exaltation of the Virgin Mother—a system where prayers are made to departed saints, many of whom were monsters in iniquity. To this "mother of harlots," more than one hundred million of the world's inhabitants are subject.

Turn your eyes also to the religion of the false prophet,

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Mahommet. Over one hundred millions are devoted to this system of iniquity. Here you see instead of the Bible, the Koran—instead of the cross, the crescent—sensual pleasures and enjoyments, instead of the joys of heaven.

To complete this view of the sad picture which this world presents, turn your eyes to Pagan lands. What abominations are here seen! More than eight hundred millions are yet devoted to the worshiping of gods framed in their own imaginations, and framed with their own hands—gods which are supposed to indulge and delight in scenes of crime and wretchedness. In short, allowing seventy millions, as the highest proper estimate of the Protestant Christian world, there remains more than twelve hundred millions now sitting in the darkness and death of idolatrous infidelity, and anti-Christian systems, who in a few years will be before the judgment seat of Him who has solemnly declared, "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God."

From this view of the world we see something of the great work yet to be accomplished, through the instrumentality of the Church, before this world is brought back to God.

Now how is the Church to be instrumental in doing this work? Need we expect that this glorious time, when the world shall be restored to God, will be brought about by some mighty cloud of glory arising in the East and suddenly spreading over the world? Need we expect that the church, in its collective capacity, will be able to accomplish all this, without the efforts of its individual members? If the church were some mighty machinery, which acted independent of its component parts, then we might expect this. But since it is made up of individual members, then all that it can accomplish must be accomplished by the individual men and individual women who compose its members.

There is an absolute necessity that every man and every woman who is a member of God's church, should put forth individual effort in the great work which the church has to perform. if ever that work is performed by her. Each

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individual must buckle on his armor, and go forth to the work which God gave us to do in his church, if ever we expect that church to do its work.

There are certain things necessary that the church may be able to do the work. She must have at her command means—I mean money—to carry on her work. Men must be sustained whose business it is to preach the great truths committed to the church—men who will give their individual efforts to the work of bringing sinners to Jesus. Missionary enterprises must be undertaken. There must be means, not only to sustain men while preaching the Gospel to those where it is already established, but to send them out into the highways and hedges, to invite sinners to come to Jesus. There is much missionary work to be done in our own land. There are many millions of its inhabitants who know not Jesus—who care nothing for their own salvation. Our large cities are overflowing with such. They are found in every town—in every village—all over the country. The Gospel must be presented to them, or they are eternally lost. Men must be sustained in life while they go forth to do this. This requires money.

Further, men must be trained for this work. It is one of such fearful responsibility that none should enter upon it without special training. Hence years must be spent in training the mind for this great work. This also requires money.

But, that they may be thoroughly trained for this work, there must be schools in which to train them, and men in those schools whose business it is to devote themselves to training them. To establish those schools, and sustain those men, money is needed.

But more than this must be done. The Bible and the Gospel must be carried into every corner of the earth—for only through the Gospel can sinners be saved. Missionaries must, therefore, be sent to heathen lands. To do this much money is needed. The Bible must be printed in every language, so that its precious truths may be read everywhere. To do this much money is needed.

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Now, all this work is to be done through the instrumentality of the church, and this money with which to do it must be in the possession of the church. But how is she to get it? In no other way than by the efforts of individual members in contributing it. There is, therefore, a *necessity* for every member of the church to make individual effort to do what he or she can towards contributing this means.

But money is not the only thing needed by the church from her individual members. While the great work of preaching the Gospel belongs particularly to the living ministry, there is much work connected with the spread of the Gospel which may be done—which necessarily must be done by the efforts of the individual members of the church. Sinners are perishing all around us who never go where the Gospel is preached, and who consequently learn little or nothing of the way to life and salvation. An effort must be made to induce them to go to the house of God. This the minister cannot well do. But every man and every woman may do much towards it; nay, must do much towards it, if the church's work is speeded on. An effort must be made to persuade them of their danger and their end. Every man and every woman may and must do much to accomplish this end. A kind word needs to be spoken to an erring friend, or acquaintance, or neighbor, to show them your deep interest in their eternal well-being. Now effort, by every individual member of the church, is necessary in all these respects if the church accomplishes the great work God has given her to do.

3. But a third question which arises in connection with this subject is its *results*. What will be the end of all this individual effort? What can be accomplished by it?

When an individual has some scheme before him, on which his heart is set, he naturally inquires, What agencies are best to be used in order to accomplish the desired end? And any instrumentality which he thinks necessary to be used, he is ready, if his heart is in his work, to go forward and make every effort in the use of that instrumentality. But he will be willing to make effort in proportion to his

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hopes of success. When he is satisfied of the necessity of individual effort in the matter, the next question is, Will it accomplish the end? What will be the result?

Just so with reference to individual effort on the part of members of the church. If such effort is necessary, the next question is, Will it accomplish the end? What will be the result of such effort? What then would be the result if every man and every woman should put forth individual effort to the full extent of his or her ability? I answer, the result under the blessing of God would be a glorious one. Effort in no other department of life promises such certain and such glorious results.

The hope of success in any enterprise, other things being equal, depends much upon the instrumentality to be employed. We have seen that the great end to be accomplished by the church is this world's restoration to God. We have seen, that to do this there is necessity for *individual effort* on the part of the members of the church. The chief instrumentality by which it is to accomplish this, is the Gospel of the Son of God. And where will we find an instrumentality so well adapted to its end? See its operations. It lays hold upon the heart—seizes the conscience, piercing the soul with a deep conviction of sin, and pointing the guilt-stricken sinner to the cross of Christ. It unites the believer by a living faith to a Divine Redeemer. It presents to him the glorious truth that "God is love"—that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life." Now this is just what all men need. It is just the instrumentality which Heaven has provided for the sinner's salvation. Are we polluted? The Gospel opens a fountain of cleansing waters. Are we condemned? Here is a forgiving God. Are we thirsty? Here is the river of life. Are we hungry? Here is the bread of heaven. Are we weary? Here is sweet repose in the bosom of a loving Saviour. Are our understandings darkened? Here is the glorious light of the Sun of Righteousness. Are our consciences slumbering? Here is power to arouse them. Are our wills rebellious? Here is power

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to subdue them. Are our affections alienated? Here is that winning love which alone can draw them back to God. In short, everything that is necessary to be done that the sinner may be completely restored to Divine favor the Gospel is adequate to perform it. Hence, if we look to the great *instrumentality* to be employed in regenerating the world, we have the highest hopes of success following our individual effort.

When I speak of success following the individual efforts of members of the church, let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean that the efforts of any individual, or any church, will ever be successful without God's blessing accompanying those efforts; for, although a Paul should plant, and an Apollos water, God only can give the increase. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." But, although we are dependent upon God for success in all our efforts, yet we have no promise of success without such effort.

Let us now look for a little, at what would be the result with God's blessing if every man and every woman in the church of God, would put forth whatever effort he or she could in His cause.

We have seen that there is necessity for individual effort, in order that the Church may have money with which to accomplish her work. Now what would be the *result* if every member of the Church would put forth whatever effort he or she could in order to secure the money necessary? What would be done by the United Presbyterian Church herself? There are over 26,000 families in that church? The annual income of each of those families will, at the lowest estimate, average $400. This would give an income to the whole church of $10,400,000. If every family would contribute the one-tenth of this income to the cause of God, there would be an income of $1,040,000 for the support of that cause. This would support her 500 ministers with a salary of $600 each, and leave $740,000 to be employed annually in the extension of the cause of her God. This latter amount would support seven hundred and forty missionaries at a salary of $1,000 each.

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Deduct the 26,000 families of our own church from the great Presbyterian family, and there remains about 450,000 families of Presbyterians in the world. If the income of each family is $400, the aggregate annual income would be $180,000,000. The one-tenth of this would be $18,000,000 as the church's income. To support the 10,000 ministers in the remaining part of the Presbyterian family, at a salary of $600, would require $6,000,000. This would leave twelve millions to be employed in church extension. This would support 12,000 missionaries with a salary of $1,000 each.

Go outside of the Presbyterian family of churches, and there are, in the United States alone, about 2,000,000 families embraced in the following denominations, viz: Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, (North and South) Protestant Episcopal, and German Reformed. The income of the 2,000,000 families above mentioned, at $400 each, will be $800,000,000. The one-tenth of this would be $80,000,000. To support their 19,000 ministers with a salary of $600, would require $11,400,000. This would leave $68,600,000 to be employed in church extension. This last amount would support 68,600 missionaries, at a salary of $1,000 each.

From the above estimate, we see that the portion of the Protestant world, to which I have referred above, would be able, besides supporting the 30,000 ministers already in the field, to send forth about 81,350 missionaries to engage in this great work, and give them a support of $1,000 each. This would give one missionary to about 14,000 souls, of those now without the gospel.

You will bear in mind, however, that I have taken into this account only a portion of the Protestant Christian churches, viz: The Presbyterian family, and that portion of other evangelical churches found in the United States.

So far as raising money for the purposes of the church is concerned, if the individual members would put forth that effort which they might, money enough could be secured to enable the church, so far as that requisite is concerned,

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to convert the world to God in the next six years. This would be the result of individual effort in this one direction.

We have thus seen that a very important result would be gained in the way of raising money for the church's operations, if all would contribute the one-tenth of their income to God. Now, does any one think it an unreasonable demand, which God makes upon us, when he asks us to give to him the one-tenth of what he has given to us? Surely such a demand cannot be unreasonable.

I have already remarked that money is not the only thing needed by the church, from her members. There is individual effort needed to induce sinners to go where the gospel is preached. Multitudes, all around the people of God, are perishing from ignorance of the gospel. What would be the *result*, in this direction, if every professing child of God would do what he or she could to bring sinners under the influence of the gospel? If every one of the five millions of members belonging to that portion of the church which I have already brought under review, should exert himself or herself, as each one might, would it be unreasonable to expect that each one would induce one other fellow-mortal to flee to the Lord Jesus each year? Is there any child of God who might not, if sufficient effort were made, induce one other sinner to go where the gospel is heard in a whole year? And if each one should take interest enough in his fellow-sinners to aim to get them to go to the house of God, this itself would create such interest in the salvation of those thus influenced as to call forth earnest prayer, that when under the sound of the gospel, that gospel might be made the power of God unto them, and thus their salvation be secured. This would give 10,000,000 members at the close of the first year, just double the present number. These ten millions could send forth one hundred and sixty-three thousand missionaries. This would give one missionary to every 7,000 souls during the second year.

If, again, these 10,000,000 should exert a similar influence through their individual effort, and each one of them, dur-

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ing the second year, bring one sinner to Jesus, at the end of that year we would have an army of 20,000,000 church members. These could send forth, during the third year, an army of 326,000 missionaries. This would give to each missionary 3,500 souls during the third year. And by each one of these 20,000,000 doing as had before been done, they would be able, during the third year, to bring 20,000,000 more under the influence of the gospel. This army of 40,000,000 could send forth, during the fourth year, 652,000 missionaries. This would reduce the number of souls to each missionary to 1,750.

And by each one of these 40,000,000 church members doing as had before been done, they would be able, during the fourth year, to bring 40,000,000 others under the influence of the gospel. This army of 80,000,000 could send forth, during the fifth year, 1,302,000 missionaries, This would reduce the number to each missionary to 875 during that year.

And by each one of those 80,000,000 doing as had before been done, they would be able, during the fifth year, to bring 80,000,000 others under the influence of the gospel. This army of 160,000,000 church members could send forth, during the sixth year, 2,604,000 missionaries. This would reduce the number of souls to each missionary to 438.

Again, if each of these 160,000,000 church members should do as had before been done, they would be able, during the sixth year, to bring 160,000,000 others under the influence of the gospel. Those 320,000,000 church members could send forth, during the seventh year, 5,208,000 missionaries. This would reduce the number of souls to each missionary to 220 during this year.

Again, if each of those 320,000,000 church members should bring one other fellow-being under the influence of the gospel, they would increase the membership to 640,000,000, and they would be able to send forth 10,416,000 missionaries during the eighth year. This would reduce the number of souls to each missionary to 110. This would not be a very unweildy congregation.

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And again, if each of those 640,000,000 should do as had before been done, they would be able, during the eighth year, to bring 640,000,000 others under the influence of the gospel. This would give us, at the end of eight years 1,280,000,000 church members. This is, perhaps, about the present population of the world.

Such would be the *result of individual effort*, on the part of church members, to bring sinners under the influence of the gospel. And, in order to accomplish this result, it is only necessary that each Christian should put forth such effort as would bring one other sinner each year, under the influence of the gospel. Now, I would ask, in all candor, is it unreasonable to suppose that, if each Christian would put forth all the effort he could, he would be instrumental in bringing one fellow-sinner to Jesus in a whole year? Surely, surely, if like the Israelites, when rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, they only had a mind to work in this cause, they could do far more than this.

I would have you bear in mind, all along, that men and women are only agents in this matter—that the whole success is dependent upon God. But while God must give the increase, yet man is required to plant and water, that God, through his instrumentality, may give the increase.

Now, if such is the work we may do by individual effort, What should we do? What is our guilt if we refuse to do it? If God has given us talents to accomplish it, Will he not hold us responsible for the use we make of those talents? Is there any one of us disposed to sit still and do nothing, simply because we cannot do as much as some others might? Will it be a satisfactory excuse when we shall be called upon by God to give an account of our stewardship, to plead that we had but one talent, and therefore we have not improved that talent? No, no; you will remember that in the parable of our Saviour it was the individual who had received but one talent who was condemned; and condemned, not because he did not possess more than one talent, but because he did not improve that one. Hence, reader, remember the fearful responsibility that rests upon you if you do

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not improve the talent God has given you, whether it be great or small, in putting forth, as individuals, whatever effort you can, in advancing His cause and securing the salvation of souls.

Article VIII.—The Second Assembly.

In accordance with the plan announced in the last number we give a brief summary of the proceedings of the Second General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church.

This Assembly met in Philadelphia, May 23d, 1860, and was opened with a sermon by the retiring Moderator, Rev. P. Bullions, D.D., from Eph. iv. 3. "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

On the roll were reported the names of 224 delegates—117 ministers, and 107 elders. Among the absentees are marked 11 ministers and 45 elders. The absentees were, perhaps, no more numerous than is common in such assemblies; but certainly more numerous than should be allowed to exist. And the probability is that the evil will increase unless some efficient remedy be applied. The best remedy is in a well sustained delegate fund. Neither ministers nor elders are to a very large extent able to pay the expenses of attending the Assembly; and they should not be expected to do on their own charges a work for the good of the whole church. Besides, the persons least able to bear their own expenses may often be the best qualified to do the work committed to the Assembly. Hereafter the delegation

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will be considerably reduced; and, it is hoped, that by the aid of a well-sustained fund, and care on the part of Presbyteries to appoint delegates who can and will attend, future Assemblies will show a better record of attendance.

The Assembly was organized by the election of Rev. Joseph Clokey, D. D., Moderator; and Rev. Thomas H. Beveridge, Assistant Clerk.

The first item of business was the adoption of the Report of a committee, previously appointed, on the revision of the Rules of Order. The rules thus adopted are an admirable system for the government of a deliberative body; and if faithfully applied by the Moderator, and respected by the members, will insure good order in the transaction of business.

The standing committee were appointed as follows:

Committee on Bills and Overtures.—Rev. J. T. Pressly, D. D., Rev. Jas. Brown, D. D., Rev. Jas. Harper, Rev. Benjamin Waddle, and Messrs. T. M'Cague, W. F. Clendenin, and Graham Scott.

Judicial Committee.—Rev. Thos. Beveridge, D. D., Rev. D. C. M'Laren, D.D., Rev. D. A. Wallace, D.D., Rev. J. G. Smart, D.D., Rev. Jas. Prestley, D.D., Rev. J. B. Johnston, and Messrs. J. M. Robertson, M.D., J. Robb, and G. Watt, M.D.

Committee on the Narrative.—Rev. Robt. Gracey, D.D., Rev. John Easton, D.D., Rev. Jas. B. Lee, and Messrs. W. T. Brownlee and M. C. Ekin.

Committee on Correspondence.—Rev. W. M. M'Elwee, D.D., Rev. R. E. Stewart, and Rev. John Y. Scouller, and Messrs. Jas. M'Candless and Andrew Mann.

Committee on Finance.—Rev. J. B. Scouller, Rev. A. Herron, D.D., and Rev. J. L. Craig, and Messrs. Wm. Dickey and S. C. Huey.

Committee on Devotional Exercises.—Rev. F. Church, Rev. R. Armstrong, Rev. Jas. Harper, and Rev. J. K Andrews, and Mr. Thos. M'Cance.

REPORTS OF PRESBYTERIES.

A summary of these is given in the following extracts from the Report of the Committee on the Narrative:—

We have endeavored to examine the forty-two Presby-

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terial reports presented to this General Assembly with a good degree of care, and would now present as the result of our labors the following summary:

Licensures.—The following nineteen young men have been licensed, during the past year, to preach the everlasting Gospel as candidates for the holy ministry, viz.;—James Crowe, W. H. Buchanan, Joseph A. Morrow, J. T. Wilson, W. L. Wallace, Andrew Watson, W. M. Claybaugh, W. T. Moffet, J. H. Adair, I. N. White, Thomas H. Hanna, D. H. French, W. M. Bell, J. H. Tedford, S. H. Graham, R. M. Patterson, T. F. Baird, S. C. Marshall, W. R. Hutchinson.

Ordinations.—The following thirty persons have been ordained to the work of the holy ministry, viz.:—J. T. Torrence, J. C. Nevin, John Edgar, L. Marks, W. Cook, J. P. Robb, John H. Young, J. M. Jamieson, W. J. Robinson, M. Ormond, W. L. Wilson, S. C. Ewing, W. Waddle, W. W. Barr, J. S. M'Cullough, J. C. Truesdale, W. A. M'Connell, G. W. Torrence, Wellington Wright, W. J. Wallace, Thos. J. Kennedy, John L. Aten, W. H. M'Farland, J. A. Shankland, D. C. Niven, J. E. Taylor, J. L. Robertson, A. R. Anderson, Sample Ramsey, Josiah Stevenson. Of these brethren Rev. Messrs. J. C. Nevin and S. C. Ewing have been set apart as missionaries to carry the Gospel to distant China.

Ministerial Additions.—During the past year eleven have been added to the number of our ministry from various other portions of the church:—Revs. Dr. Guthrie and Herron, from the Ref. Presbyterian Church; Rev. Messrs. W. S. Ransom, and D. Pressly, (licentiate,) from the Baptist Church; Rev. W. Townley, from the Presbyterian Church, (O. S.;) Rev. D. Murphy, from the Presbyterian Church, (N. S.;) Rev. T. D. Davis, from the A. R. Church, South; Rev. Jas. Rodgers, from the Presbyterian Church, Canada; Rev. John Edgar, from the A. R. Presbytery of New York; Rev. Daniel Todd, from the U. P. Church, Canada; and Rev. John Service, from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

New Congregations.—The following twenty-two congregations have been organized during the past year:—Centralia, Youngstown—Fifth Church, Pittsburg—Fourth Church, Allegheny City—Lawrenceville, Olena, Fountain Green, Morrisdale, Paxton, Apple Creek, Burnstown, Mingo, Garnet, Atcheson, Newburg—West 29th Street, N. Y.—Plaingrove, Brownsdale, New Salem, Saltsburg, Wurtemburg, and Big Spring.

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Pastoral Settlements and Releases.—There have been fifty-one pastoral settlements during the past year, while in thirty instances the relation has been dissolved. It has pleased the Head of the church to remove three of our number from their respective fields of labor to the place of rest, where, we doubt not, "they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them:"—Rev. S. W. M'Cracken, on the 10th September last; Rev. B. Boyd, on the 3d February; and Rev. W. G. M'Elheny, on the 20th instant.

There has also been an encouraging increase in the number of those who propose devoting themselves to the work of the holy ministry, and who, during the past winter, have been in attendance at our Theological Seminaries. In this increase of candidates for the sacred office we would recognize the loving-kindness of the Head of the church in answer to the prayers of his people "that he would send forth laborers into the harvest." As faithful laborers in the vineyard of the Lord is what is specially needed for the extension and prosperity of our beloved Zion, every indication which gives promise that this want is being supplied should be hailed with delight, and at the same time animate and encourage the church in her wrestling with her glorious Head to rise to the adoption of the high and holy resolve, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me."

Your committee would notice, with gratitude to God, the fact that not only are meetings for prayer and conference among Christians more numerous and frequent, but that the attendance upon such meetings is encouragingly on the increase, while the exercises are usually conducted with great propriety and deep solemnity. Such means of grace form an element in the power and influence of the church of Christ, which we cannot over-estimate. It is prayer that enlists, on the side of the church, the power that supports and directs the universe. And while we call to our remembrance the promises of our blessed Saviour, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them"—"Where two or three shall agree as touching anything to ask it of the Lord, he will do it for them," we cannot but hail the increase of these meetings for prayer as an indication for good. And while we must not conceal the statements made in the reports which have passed under review, in relation to a want of concord and harmony in portions of our beloved church—even though limited in extent—while we must not forget reports in relation to worldly-mindedness, and the neglect of family and personal religion—as also the neglect of the proper religious

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training of the rising generation—yet would we not despair. In this element of the church's power we have a sovereign remedy for all these evils, however formidable.

Your committe have also been pleased to notice the increased attention given to the instruction of the young by the organization of Sabbath-schools, and the formation of Bible-classes. It is not too much to say that the young are the hope of the church. From their ranks must arise the future ministry, eldership, and membership of the church of God. And we feel that we hazard nothing by the declaration, that the character of their early training will leave its impress upon their influence for life. How important the exhortation, "Train up a child in the way he should go," and how encouraging the promise, "And when he is old, he will not depart from it!" It gives us no little pleasure to notice improvement in this department of the church's labors; and could we know that the institution of the Sabbath school was in all cases wisely conducted, "our joy would be full."

BOARDS OF THE CHURCH.

Domestic Missions.—From the report of the Executive Committee of this Board we make the following extracts:—

In presenting our first annual report we are called to record our thankfulness to Zion's King for the goodness and mercy with He has shown to us. The lives of all your missionaries have been spared. They have, with few and brief exceptions, enjoyed a good measure of health, and been able to prosecute the work assigned them with constancy and zeal. We are happy to bear testimony to the promptness with which your missionaries entered upon their work, and the faithfulness with which they have continued to prosecute it; this too, in many cases, under embarrassments and difficulties. They have been kindly received and their labors appreciated by those to whom they have been sent.

In granting orders the Executive Committee have acted under the following resolution, adopted at our first meeting:—

"That the only condition, on which we can grant orders, is, that each missionary shall state directly the time and place of his labor, accompanied with the certificate of the clerk of Presbytery in whose bounds he is, that the labor has been performed."

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This resolution has been generally enforced. In some cases, where the attention of the missionary had not been called to it, injustice would have been done by a strict adherence to the letter of it. The closing up of the accounts with missionaries and Presbyteries, has shown, however, the necessity of a more strict adherence to it in the future; especially where different men are laboring in the same station. Where the clerks of Presbyteries ask orders, at one time for the congregation, and again for the missionary, without telling, in the former case, who did the work, or in the latter, where he did it, it is impossible to keep the accounts of the Board correctly. Owing to defects in some of the reports, there are two or three cases, which justice may require, should be reviewed by the committee which you may appoint for the coming year, when all the facts are furnished. But it should be distinctly understood, that in the future both the name of the missionary, and the place where he labored, must be specified in any claim for funds.

The whole amount of orders granted for missionary labor for the year, is $11,287 88. The amount paid by your Treasurer, prior to his forwarding his report, was $4,625 75. The amount received and paid by the Committee since the 18th instant, as shown by the accompanying report, is $2,548 87—making in all paid to this date, $7,174 62—leaving a balance due missionaries of $4,113 26.

To meet this there is in the hands of Jas. M'Candless, treasurer, *pro tem.*, say thirteen hundred dollars. There is quite a large number of congregations which have not sent up to the Assembly their contributions to this fund. Some of these we are informed have collected the money, and it will be forthcoming before the first of July, the end of the financial year. Your committee have not the data to determine whether the contributions of the year will satisfy all the claims. We can say, however, that if the congregations not yet reported, have contributed as liberally in proportion to their membership as those already reported, there will be enough.

In closing our report, permit a word on the importance of this part of the church's labor. The importance of the Foreign Mission work cannot well be overestimated. Every true and revived Christian will have a heart beating in earnest sympathy with the efforts of the church to send the Gospel to the heathen, and will count it all joy when he has the privilege of aiding in it. But may there not be danger of this cause eclipsing the Home Mission work? We do not detract from the importance of the former when we say the lat-

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ter is more important. It is this which supplies the fountain from which these streams go forth, carrying life and blessing to the heathen world. The church which spends her strength in sending the Gospel abroad, to the neglect of those who are perishing around her, exhausts herself in an effort, which, though it may be blessed with success in erecting the banner of the cross in heathen lands, must sooner or later bring desolation and moral waste to her own land. The faithfulness with which the American churches, in a spirit of humble dependence upon God, and holy confidence in his promises, shall cultivate the home field, will determine the question, whether this goodly land which God has crowned so richly with his blessings, shall permanently send forth an influence through which all nations shall be blessed, and she herself continue to be a blessing, or whether she shall add one more to the many mournful instances in which God has made the efforts of a proud and carnal church the means by which He has taken the Gospel from herself and sent it to nations bringing forth the fruits thereof.

The appropriations of money and distribution of missionaries for the current year, as reported by the Board of Home Missions to this Assembly, provided for different Presbyteries and missionary stations a force of means and men by which the Home missionary work of the church may be expected to be prosecuted with a good degree of efficiency.

Foreign Missions.—The Board in charge of this great interest of the church presented a carefully prepared report setting forth the state, wants, and prospects of the several missionary stations, with some important suggestions of what might and should be done for the strengthening and more efficient support of them. We make from this report the following extracts, which, with what was given in our last number, on the origin and force of each station, will enable our readers to form a just view of the present state of this part of the missionary work of the church:

In presenting this, their first report, the Board would say that it will be more extended than usual, inasmuch as it embraces the ground hitherto covered by the two bodies composing the United Church, and because, also, it is deemed specially desirable that the Assembly should, in the outset

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of its course, be put in possession of all the facts in relation to this important department of its work.

As directed by the General Assembly, this Board was formally organized in the Second Church, Philadelphia, on the 21st of June last, and since that time has held twelve meetings and seventeen sessions. These meetings have uniformly been of the most harmonious character—and have not only steadily deepened the interest which every member felt in the cause of missions, but have also greatly strengthened the conviction that the whole church is called upon, by every consideration, to rise and gird herself to the work of making the Gospel known for the evangelization of the world.

During the year a merciful Providence has so watched over the persons and families of our foreign missionaries that though laboring in various countries and climates, and often exposed by land and sea, to sickness, weariness, and waiting, yet not one of their lives has been lost, none of their number has been permanently laid aside, and none have failed to find the work of the Lord increasing in their hands. Deeply is this felt to be an occasion for thanksgiving, and loudly also is there a call in it for new means and missionaries to be intrusted to the hands of Him whose is this cause, and who will, beyond a question, guard his servants until his work is everywhere done, and all the ends of the earth have seen his salvation.

In accordance with the direction of the Assembly, and relying largely, under God, upon the prompt and liberal help of the friends of the great work proposed, the Board, immediately after its organization, proceeded to take steps for forming a new mission in China, and for sending out the laborers appointed to that field. Mr. J. C. Nevin reported himself ready to go as soon as arrangements could be made, was ordained, suitably provided for, and, on the 17th day of December last, sailed, with his wife, from the city of New York, in the ship Seaman's Bride, for his great work. Mr. S. C. Ewing, the other missionary elect for that field, having asked that his departure might be deferred until the close of the ensuing session of the Theological Seminary, the Board granted him his request.

In regard to Mr. John Hogg, the Board are happy to report that, on receiving notice of the call for him to engage in our mission at Alexandria, he at once accepted of it, and devoting himself with renewed diligence to his studies in the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, in Edinburg, was at length licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburg, and, with a

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truly noble spirit, was handed over by that Presbytery to become a missionary of the cross under the care of our own United Presbyterian Church. In January last he sailed from Liverpool in company with his wife, for his field of labor, but having been shipwrecked three days afterwards in the Bay of Biscay, he was forced to return to his native land. In no way discouraged, however, and promptly met by the sympathies and contributions of Scottish Christians, he was speedily prepared for departure again, and, on the 19th of March last, landed safely in Alexandria, where, with scarcely a day's delay, he engaged at once in the work to which he had devoted his life and his all. The Board cannot refrain from commending his energy and zeal, and would also call the special attention of the Assembly to the truly generous and noble spirit manifested towards our mission and beloved missionary, by the many friends of Christ and of his cause in Scotland.

At the suggestion of the missionaries in Damascus, and with the approbation of the Board, Rev. John Crawford has undertaken, with encouraging prospects, a new mission at Yabrud, a town of about 4,000 inhabitants, some hours distant north-east of Damascus. In its neighborhood is the enterprising and promising, but most needy town of Nebk, where, after that frequent and urgent requests had been received from the people for religious instructious, Jibran Shehady, a well-trained Scripture reader and teacher, from the church in Damascus, was usefully employed. But his health is now failing, and, as the place holds out strong inducements for thorough occupancy, anxious calls are made for some man to be sent out at once to labor there, where so many are now longing and asking for the bread of life.

Thus the Board are happy to report the entrance, during the year, upon a new mission to China, and a new station at Yabrud, Syria, their occupancy by chosen men, and a promising reïnforcement to the mission in Egypt, in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Hogg.

In reference to the mission proposed to be formed in Africa, the Board regret that they have to present a different report. Repeated efforts have been made by appeals through the periodicals of the church, by official correspondence, and by private interviews, but as yet there has been an entire failure to secure any laborer for this vast and most needy field.

At the repeated and earnest call of the brethren in Egypt for suitable accommodations for their work, and deeply impressed with a sense of their urgent necessity, the Board, in

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August last, resolved upon endeavoring to raise a Building Fund, which should be considered entirely separate from the ordinary missionary contributions and expenses. An appeal was accordingly addressed to the churches and especially to the children of the families and Sabbath-schools in the entire body. That appeal was promptly responded to by large numbers, and while the sum contributed is not yet nearly equal to what is demanded to provide buildings in places like the cities of Alexandria and Cairo, yet the Board most gratefully mention that, up to the 4th instant, $3,496 30 had been paid into the Treasury for this purpose, and thence forwarded to Rev. G. Lansing, with instructions that under no circumstances is it to be used for any object other than the securing of a suitable sanctuary and school premises for the United Presbyterian Church in Egypt. That Fund still calls for aid; and it is earnestly commended to the attention of the Assembly and of the church at large.

The committee to which the report of the Board of Foreign Missions was referred, reported the following, among other resolutions, which were adopted:

1. That the Board of Foreign Missions be authorized and directed to send Rev. S. C. Ewing, elected last year as a missionary to China, to the mission in Cairo.

2. That the Assembly proceed to elect an additional missionary to Sealkote and Cairo respectively, and that, in accordance with the recommendations of the Board, Mr. James Barr be appointed to the India mission, and Mr. Andrew Watson to the mission in Cairo.

3. That in accordance with the recommendation of the Board, Miss M. J. M'Kown be, and hereby is appointed an Assistant Teacher in the Girl's School in Alexandria.

4. That the Board is authorized and recommended to issue a monthly missionary publication, in a cheap form, for general circulation through the church.

5. *Resolved*, That the Building Fund for the Egyptian mission be recommended to the favorable consideration of our congregations and Sabbath-schools, and that they be requested to contribute to said fund.

Board of Publication.—The following extracts from the report of this Board will show what had been done and is

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proposed by it, all of which was approved by the Assembly:

Your Board would respectfully report that, according to appointment of last Assembly, we met at the specified time and place, and organized by choosing James Rodgers as President of the Board; Rev. James Prestley, Vice President; Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, Recording Secretary; and Rev. John G. Brown, Corresponding Secretary. From that time we have met at least monthly, but, for the most part, weekly, for the transaction of business. When constituted, we would have found ourselves unable to do anything for want of funds, had it not been that the former Board of the Bible and Book Concern of the Associate Synod loaned us the funds at their disposal, amounting to $1,744.10; one thousand of which was the generous donation of A. Stewart, Esq., of Indiana county, designed by him for the Board of Publication of the United Presbyterian Church. With such a small fund, the Board was unable to carry out, except very partially, the instructions of the last Assembly. All the money at our disposal would scarcely have been sufficient to publish a moderate edition of a moderate-sized book; and until very near the close of the year, but very little additions were made to the original sum by contributions. As will be seen from the Treasurer's report, the whole amount contributed to this date, (May 15,) is, by congregations, $807.06; by individuals, $552.83; making a sum total, at our diposal, of $3,103.99.

Judging it best to do one thing at a time, rather than commence several and fail to accomplish any, owing to the limited means at our disposal, we first commenced with making a selection of suitable books for Sabbath-schools; to which additions have been made from time to time, until we have now collected about 1,200 different books of this description. We have proceeded on the principle of taking good books wherever we can find them. We have all that we consider safe from the catalogues of the Presbyterian Board, the American, the Reform, and the London Religious Tract Societies, the American S. S. Union, the Messrs. Carters, Martiens, Sheldon & Co., Gould & Lincoln, M. W. Dodd, and others. These we furnish, not only at catalogue prices, but with discounts, varying from ten to twenty per cent., and in some cases even more. No one acquainted with the light, frivolous Sabbath-school literature of the present day, and the corrupting influence that is thereby exerted, will judge that there is not a loud call to furnish our youth in Sabbath-schools with a wholesome religious

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literature. A British statesman once said:—"Give me the ballad-making for England, and I care not who makes her laws." So, give mercenary publishers, and Negative Theological Societies, the privileges of supplying the reading matter to our Sabbath-schools, and it is a matter of little moment who has the making of the creeds for the rising generation.

We have also selected a great variety of the holy Scriptures from different publishing houses in this country and Britain. We have been particularly careful to select the best reference Bibles we could find in both countries; and we hope that Bible-classes will avail themselves of the advantages now offered them to obtain the very best of this useful class of Bibles, No better way of obtaining a knowledge of the holy Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation, than by studying them in the light which is shed from parallel passages, to be found in a good Reference Bible.

It will scarcely be expected that we should have published much through the year, owing to our limited means; yet we have done something in this way. A good friend, who does not wish his name made public, donated us $500.00 for publishing the Scriptures; and with this we had an addition of 500 copies, of the medium size, issued; and, with the balance, contracted with a large publishing house in London for an edition of a beautiful and valuable Reference Bible, with the Oxford references. This has been executed, and we expect in a few days to receive the book. Besides these, we have published an edition of King on the Ruling Eldership, which we have put at a low price, and of which we have sold 300 copies in three months.

We have also published a Tract on the United Presbyterian Church, another on Systematic Beneficence, and an edition of the Shorter Catechism, the plates of which were presented to the Board by Mr. Robertson, through Rev. P. Bullions, D. D. We may state here that we have lately purchased the plates of "Brown's Two Catechisms," "Short Catechism for Children," "Shorter Catechism, small," and ditto with proofs. It is our design to publish an edition of each of these forthwith.

In regard to the edition of the Psalms ordered by the last Assembly to be published, a report will be submitted, which, it is hoped, will prove satisfactory.

Besides the money borrowed from the Associate Synod, the proceeds of two Funds came into our hands: namely,

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the Fund for the aid of week Sabbath-schools, and the Bible Distribution Fund. The use made of these Funds will appear from reports herewith presented.

Having thus stated briefly what we have been doing through the year, we would next call the attention of the Assembly to what we propose doing the coming year, and what we wish them and the church to do for us, that we may be able to carry our purpose into effect.

And, 1st. We wish to commence the work of publishing Sabbath-school Books, and rare works of merit, which are not to be had but at an extravagant price. This, however, will require an increase of our capital far beyond what it is at present. We can now but keep up a sufficient supply of Sabbath school books from the publications of others. We hope that the Assembly will call upon our congregations, and especially such of them as have done nothing for us thus far, to contribute liberally the coming year.

2d. Supplying the weak and destitute with Bibles, and other good books. It will be seen from the accompanying reports that we have, through the year, granted a number of small libraries to Sabbath-schools, and donations in books to weak congregations. In thus supplying we have done what we could, though far short of what we could have wished, or what was necessary. We can assure the Assembly that there is a great and important work to be done in distributing the Scriptures, and other good books, among those who are desirous to read and be instructed, but are not able to purchase or pay full price.

Board of Church Extension.—This report is brief, and we copy it entire. It is as follows:

In conformity with the appointment of the First General Assembly, the Board of Church Extension met on the 11th of June, 1859, and was organized by appointing John T. Pressly President, and William Dyer Secretary. The Board was scarcely organized when applications from different quarters were made for assistance. The idea seems to have taken possession of the minds of many that the appointment of a Board was equivalent to the creation of a fund. And hence requests for aid from needy congregations reached us before the Board had any means at its disposal. According to the regulations adopted by the Assembly for the government of the Board, we are not allowed to make an "appropriation to any church not under the control of one of our Presbyteries, nor without the recommendation of the Pres-

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bytery to which it belongs." It is also required that, accompanying the application for aid, there shall be a certification from "the trustees of the church that the church lot is fully secured to the United Presbyterian Church." A neglect, on the part of most applicants for aid, to observe these regulations, would have constituted an objection, on the part of the Board, to afford assistance, even had the means been at its disposal.

Another general rule adopted by the Assembly for the government of the different Boards seems to have been entirely overlooked by a large proportion of the churches under our care:—"Any congregation, settled or vacant, which shall fail to contribute to the funds of the church, shall not be entitled to benefit from any of the funds, except by a special act of the Assembly." Out of more than six hundred congregations, not more than one-sixth have contributed any thing to the Church Extension Fund. But as this mode of operation in promoting the extension of the church among us is yet in its infancy, we doubt not that in future this subject will receive that attention which its importance demands. If the Assembly would see the accomplishment of the important object for which this Board was established, attention must be paid, both by pastors and people, to that regulation which declares that "It shall be the duty of the officers of each church to see that every member in their respective congregations is afforded an opportunity of contributing to each of the Funds at least once annually."

During the year the Board have met frequently, as occasion required; and, as our limited means enabled us, have afforded some assistance to different congregations, whose circumstances seemed more especially to appeal to our sympathy. In conformity with the request of the Presbytery of Chicago and the Board of Home Missions, an appropriation was made to the congregation in the city of Chicago. In consideration of the importance of the place, the peculiar difficulties with which the congregation has had to struggle, the persevering and praisworthy efforts which its members have made to sustain themselves, and the urgent demand for aid, the Board has made an appropriation for the purpose of relieving the Fifth Church, Philadelphia, (under the care of Rev. R. Armstrong.) A small amount has likewise been appropriated to aid the infant congregation in the town of Garnett, Kansas, under the pastoral care of Rev. John R. Slentz. Various applications for aid have been made, to which we would willingly respond if the congregations

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under the care of the Assembly would place the means at our disposal. And it is hoped that pastors and sessions will call the attention of our various congregations to the duty of contributing to this Fund, that the Board may be enabled to accomplish something worthy of the character of the United Presbyterian Church in promoting the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

This report was approved, and in connection with this approval the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That this Assembly most earnestly recommend to all the ministers, elders, and congregations under its care to appropriate to this Fund of their worldly substance, as God has prospered them, to enable the Board to carry out the great design of its appointment, in assisting weak and discouraged congregations in securing comfortable houses for divine worship; and to this end direct that a collection for this purpose be taken up in all our congregations.

2. That congregations in need of assistance to build houses for divine worship be directed to apply to the Board of Church Extension, receive from them a recommendation to the churches, return an account of the amount collected, and give to the church, through the Boards, the necessary bonds, to apply the funds as the directions of the Assembly require.

The Board of Education.—This Board made the following brief report, which was approved:

The Board of Education report:—That, according to the appointment of the General Assembly, which met at Xenia in May last, the members composing the Board met and organized at as early a day as practicable. A circular was prepared, giving notice of the organization of the Board, and of its objects. The circular was published in some of the papers of the church. Since its organization the Board has had two regular meetings. In the intervals between these meetings, an Executive Committee was empowered to transact any necessary business. Some of the congregations, though an inconsiderable portion of the whole number belonging to the church, have contributed to the funds of the church, though few of these were among the most numerous and wealthy congregations. The Board has, therefore, not been able to extend all the aid to young men preparing for the ministry which could have been desired;

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but eight young men have received some aid, which, no doubt, has encouraged them to proceed with their studies.

The whole amount contributed by the churches is $308 71; of which $308 have been disbursed; leaving a balance in the treasury of 71 cents.

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

Committee on Bills and Overtures.—On a memorial from Rev. G. D. Henderson and others, this committee made the following report, which was adopted unanimously:

The memorialists complain of a supposed vagueness and indefiniteness in the exhibition of our distinctive principles as unfolded in the action of the united body adopting the Basis of Union. Your Committee cannot refrain from an expression of our surprise that brethren should experience any difficulty on this subject after the action of the last General Assembly. But in the hope that henceforth there may exist no difficulty in the minds of any on this subject, and that the time of the Assembly may no longer be occupied with the consideration of memorials of this character, your Committee would submit the following remarks with reference to the "adopting act" which the memorialists suppose to labor under an incumbrance from which they pray that it may be relieved. In various resolutions adopted by our respective Synods the subject of the exercise of Christian forbearance is introduced. And finally, in the consummation of the Union, in the joint action of the two Synods, it is distinctly declared, in reference to that forbearance which is to be exercised, that "It is agreed between the two churches that the forbearance in love which is required by the law of God will be exercised towards any brethren who may not be able fully to subscribe the Standards of the United Church, while they do not determinedly oppose them, but follow the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

Here it is very plainly declared that the forbearance which is to be exercised in love is simply that which the law of God requires; nothing less; nothing more. And does any one object to the exercise of such forbearance? Then, towards whom is this forbearance to be exercised? Not towards those who are troublers of Israel. Not towards those who openly oppose the doctrines embraced in our Standards. Not towards the advocates of error. But towards those whose minds, though they may not be able

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fully to subscribe some of our distinctive principles, are yet open to conviction, and who, in the meantime, demean themselves in an orderly manner, following the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.

To your committee it would seem that this language is sufficiently plain and intelligible. We would, therefore, respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolution:—

Resolved, That no amendments nor modifications of the principles embraced in her Standards, but the faithful application of them, in their plain and obvious sense, is the present duty of the United Presbyterian Church.

On memorials from the Presbyteries of Chartiers and Frankfort, on the subject of public social covenanting, this committee made a report closing with resolutions which, after some amendments, were adopted as follows:—

1. That it is the duty of pastors to instruct their people in relation to the nature of the duty of public social covenanting, and the proper seasons for its observance, in common with other religious duties.

2. That pastors and sessions should carefully observe the dispensations of Divine Providence; and if the circumstances of congregations furnish a call, and it is deemed for edification, that they engage in the observance of the duty.

3. That a committee of three be appointed to prepare some directions for engaging in this duty, and to prepare a general bond, either to be used, or to be regarded as a guide in the preparation of such a bond; and that said committee be required to report to the General Assembly next year.

On a petition from the Presbytery of Oregon, on the subject of union with the Assembly, this committee made the following report, which was adopted:

The Presbytery of Oregon signify their cordial reception of the Testimony, and other doctrinal Standards of the United Presbyterian Church. But owing to their remote position, they "reserve the right of final jurisdiction over all matters, except such as may be appealed directly to the General Assembly;" and, moreover, reserve the right of sending delegates to the General Assembly as they may deem expedient.

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Your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the General Assembly cordially acquiesce in the proposal of the Presbytery of Oregon, and regard it as one of the Presbyteries under its care.

On a petition from the Synod of Illinois, asking a division of said Synod, this Committee reported the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, 1st. That a new Synod be formed out of the Synod of Illinois, to be called the Synod of Iowa, including the States of Iowa and Minnesota, and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. 2d. That in conformity with their request, the Presbytery of Kansas be connected with the Synod of Illinois. 3d. That the Synod of Iowa meet on the last Thursday of August, 1860, at 7½ o'clock, P. M., in the city of Oskaloosa, to be constituted by Rev. W. Boyce, or Rev. Samuel M'Arthur as his alternate.

The Judicial Committee.—On a memorial from certain sessions in the Presbytery of Argyle, this committee reported the following answers, which were adopted:

The memorialists ask three questions:

1. Are our distinctive principles, as well as the doctrines of grace, terms of communion?

2. Is it consistent with our standards to extend Communion in sealing ordinances, to persons retaining membership in churches holding principles inconsistent with our profession?

3. Should a Presbytery tolerate such practices by the ministers and sessions under its care?

To these questions your Committee recommend the following answer:

The Assembly cannot but express its surprise that such questions should ever have been propounded. It is not possible to return a more explicit affirmative answer to the first, or negative answer to the second, than is given in the Testimony of the church, as adopted at the formation of the union.

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In the introduction to the Testimony it is stated that an "adherence to the Westminster Standards, and to the declarations contained in the following Testimony, will be required of those seeking communion with us." And in the 16th declaration, we find the following:—"We declare, that the church should not extend communion in sealing ordinances, to those who refuse adherence to her profession, or subjection to her government and discipline, or refuse to forsake a communion inconsistent with the profession that she makes." These are the authoritative statements of the doctrine and order of the church. The Assembly can not make them any clearer or more emphatic. While the courts of the church may and ought to exercise forbearance in love towards those who cannot fully subscribe to these declarations, yet they may not tolerate determined opposition to them, or wanton practical violation of them.

The church has thus clearly set forth the law on this subject. The administration of it is left to the inferior courts. It is their manifest duty, in meekness and love, to do all they can to persuade all under their care to walk orderly. In case, however, of violation of the law, wantonly persisted in, as the last resort, recourse must be had to regular judicial process in the proper courts.

In relation to the memorial from the session of Queensbury in the Presbytery of Argyle, your committee submit the following report:

The only question in this memorial, to which an answer has not already been given, is the following:

"Is it consistent with our standards for our ministers to enter into any arrangements to unite in the public or social worship of God, where human compositions are employed as the matter of praise?"

To this your Committee recommend the following answer:

It is not consistent with our profession to enter into any arrangements by which we may, in any sense, sanction or approve of the use of human composition in the worship of God.

In relation to the subject matter of these Memorials, your Committee recommend the adoption of the following:

The Assembly regard the Testimony of the Church as sufficiently explicit. It does not appear that any deliverance that can be made will render its meaning any plainer or more pointed. The carrying out of the principles of the church is vested in the inferior courts, and not in the Assembly. Whether or not, therefore, our Testimony is

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duly administered, will depend on the faithfulness of sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods.

It is to be hoped that the last paragraph of this report will be observed, and that hereafter the time of the Assembly will not be occupied in answering unprofitable questions.

To questions in a memorial from the session of Bovina, N. Y., this committee reported the following answers, which were adopted unanimously:

Are sessions, in receiving persons from that denomination of Arians, called "Christians," to require that they be rebaptized? That in our judgment such applicants for fellowship in the church should be regarded as unbaptized persons: inasmuch as a community of Arians, denying the true and proper divinity of Jesus, and his atonement, by whatever name they may be denominated, is not entitled to be considered as a part of the visible church of Christ. In regard to the second question, viz.,

Does Article XV. of the United Presbyterian Testimony condemn the "Independent Order of Odd-Fellows;" and are sessions to require, as a condition of admission to the Church, from those who are connected therewith, that they *withdraw* from said order? Your Committee have no hesitation in giving an affirmative answer to this inquiry. Those who become or continue members of this Society not only violate the Declaration in the Testimony, but also act in opposition to the unquestionably Scriptural doctrine laid down in the Confession of Faith, chap. xxii., "Of Lawful Oaths and Vows." Your committee therefore recommend the adoption of this report as an answer, on the part of the Assembly, to the questions proposed in the memorial.

The Committee on Correspondence, to which had been referred letters received from the Vaudois Church, in Italy, and the U. P. Church of Canada, reported drafts of letters in reply, accompanied with the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, 1*st.* That the Assembly cordially reciprocate the fraternal regards, and respond to the Christian letter received from the Vaudois brethren.

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2d. That the Assembly cheerfully accept the proffered correspondence with the United Presbyterian Church in Canada, and return an answer to their communication, bearing to them our good wishes and earnest prayers for their peace and prosperity.

REPORTS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

A committee raised by this Assembly to report a plan for raising money for the support of the various enterprises of the church, submitted the following, which was adopted:—

1st. Each Assembly shall declare the minimum sum necessary to meet the wants of each Board for the next year.

2d. Each Presbytery shall raise, as nearly as possible, the proportion of these sums falling to it, according to the number of its membership, and shall cause their contributions to be promptly made, and paid over at the time ordered by the Assembly.

3d. The contributions of the Presbyteries shall be paid over to the Treasurers of the Board, in quarterly instalments, on or before the first days of July, October, January, and April.

4th. Each Presbytery shall appoint a Treasurer, to whom the contributions of the congregations to all the Boards shall be paid, who shall receipt to the congregations for the same, and forward it to the Treasurers of the Boards at the time appointed. The Treasurers of the Boards may not receive contributions from congregations directly.

5th. The delegates from each Presbytery shall nominate, and the Assembly annually appoint a member of each Presbytery Financial Agent for the same, who shall be the medium of correspondence between the Boards and the Presbyteries, and who shall be charged with the special duty of seeing to it that the will of the Assembly is fully carried out in each Presbytery.

6th. The Treasurers of the Boards shall, within two weeks after the quarterly instalments become due, publish in the papers of the church a statement of the amounts received from each Presbytery. And Presbyterial Treasurers shall, in the same manner, announce the contributions of the congregations, each of his own Presbytery.

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7th. The Presbyteries are hereby called upon to do what they can to train the people of their congregations to habits of liberality, and to secure contributions, as nearly as possible, up to the measure of the wants of the church, and the law of Christianity, according to any plan they may judge best suited to accomplish the object.

8th. It shall be the duty of each Board to publish quarterly, at least one month previously to the time fixed for the payment of quarterly instalments, a full statement of its pecuniary condition and wants.

9th. The financial year shall always close with the 30th of April.

The committee appointed for the purpose by the preceding Assembly, reported a draft of a Book of Discipline, which by action of this Assembly was overtured to the Presbyteries. We cannot make room for a suitable notice of this now, and shall reserve it as a subject of separate notice in our next number. We may also say here, that a committee was appointed to report a Directory for Worship; and that the report of this committee, which has been published, will also receive attention in our next number.

The Committee on Psalmody reported at length on the subject of an improved version. The following extracts will show what had been done:—

The committee took charge of this work under the following instruction:—"Either by selections from versions extant, or the labors of a competent person, endeavor to have such a version in readiness to report to the next General Assembly; that in this work, they be instructed to make fidelity to the original an object of special attention, and that as they progress, they publish the results of their labors in the periodicals of the church."

Under the above instruction the committee elected the plan of selecting the best version extant. After a careful examination of a number of versions, some of them in manuscript, that of Prof. Abner Jones, of New York, was regarded, all things considered, the best and most eligible. The following are the principal considerations which influenced the committee in their decision:—

1. The version of Mr. Jones, as a whole, was regarded as

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a fair expression of the sense and meaning of the Psalms; and it was supposed that, with amendments, it might be made such a version as the church now very much needs.

2. In conciseness, vigor, terseness, and adaptation to music, it was regarded as superior to all others of which the committee had any knowledge.

3. It is constructed on what may be regarded as an all-important conception of the subjects embraced in each Psalm, and of the unity of each.

It is but just to state that, among the versions and parts of versions examined, that of Rev. John Murray, Geneva, N.Y.; of Prof. Duffield, Princeton College; of Professor Jacobus, D.D., Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny City; and that of Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Philadelphia, all in manuscript, possess in some respects considerable merit; and while they are creditable to their authors, indicate a hopeful and growing desire to restore the Psalms of the Bible to their proper place in the Christian church.

The committee held their first regular meeeting at Xenia, Ohio, August, 1859.

Prof. Abner Jones, the author of the version selected, was present, and coöperated in the revision and amendment of it. Having gone over the first fifty Psalms, and made such amendments as could be made on the first reading, and as Mr. Jones consented to have made, and having referred such Psalms and parts of Psalms as did not meet their approval, to Mr. Jones, to be amended or re-versified, the committee adjourned to meet in the Fall. A meeting was subsequently appointed for the 17th of Nov.; but owing to the duties of Mr. Jones at home, it did not take place until the 26th of March, 1860.

The same general plan was followed as at the former meeting. Such verbal amendments were made on the first reading as seemed important, subject to the approval of the author. The special difficulty encountered in this version, is that of compression in some of its parts. This seems to arise generally, we suppose, from the plan of the author, rather than from a wilful purpose to drop even the shades of thought. It has been the aim of the committee, as far as practicable, to bring the version as nearly as possible into conformity with the original.

The committee have on the above plan revised Mr. Jones' book, and also a pamphlet containing eighty versions; and it was their purpose to select from these, as amended, such versions as they felt willing to recommend to the Assembly;

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but owing to the absence of some members of committee, and the want of time, this has not been done. Mr. Jones, in the meantime, has had his Psalms, as amended, stereotyped; and the committee now think it better to submit the work as a whole to the judgment of the church, it being distinctly understood that a selection of such versions as may suit our views and purpose may be made therefrom, and that necessary and proper amendments may yet be made on these versions; and, if approved, ultimately used as contemplated by the action of the Assembly of 1859.

The report concluded with the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That the version of the Psalms by Prof. Abner Jones, as amended in his new edition, be, and hereby is, submitted to the Presbyteries for examination, and to report their approval or disapproval of so much of said version as is contemplated in the following resolution to the next General Assembly.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to make selections from said version, and also such amendments as may be necessary and proper, making fidelity to the original a special object, and that they publish the amended selections in a cheap pamphlet form, at least three months prior to the meeting of the next General Assembly.

In its action upon this report the Assembly appointed a committee to complete the work and report to the next Assembly; and, in the meantime, publish the result of their labors in cheap pamphlet form for the examination of the church. In an after resolution the labors of the committee were restricted to a preparation of a second version of a portion of the Psalms. This is all the committee will be able to do this year; and, if well done, may meet the present necessities of the church. Something must be done, or the interests of the church must suffer.

In the matter of verbally amending the old version which had been referred to the Board of Publication, a report was made giving specimens of the work so far as it had progressed. The work was recommitted to the Board of Publication and others who could conveniently act with it, under instruction to proceed according to the principles which had guided them in the specimens reported, with the understanding that no amendments be made which will affect the in-

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tegrity of the version. This work, we are happy to know, has been completed, and will soon be published in neat but cheap form.

In the foregoing summary we have given the essential parts of all the important papers and actions of this Assembly—enough for the historical purposes for which it has been prepared. This brings us up to the present time. Hereafter, following the Assemblies closely, and while their proceedings are fresh, we shall indulge more freely in careful comments.

SHORT NOTICES.

I. THE LIFE OF TRUST: Being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller, written by himself. Edited and Condensed by Rev. H. Lincoln Wayland, Pastor of the Third Baptist Church, Worcester, Mass. With an Introduction by Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861, 12mo., pp. 476.

As this book is very remarkable and valuable, we consider it entitled to more than an ordinary notice.

George Müller was born at Kroppenstaedt, near Halberstadt, Prussia, September 27, 1805. His father, who was a collector in the excise, educated him for the ministry in the Established Lutheran Church. His early life was marked by much deception, lying, theft, drunkenness, profanity, gambling, and other iniquities. Even while pursuing his

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theological studies at Halle, his career, for a time, was very profligate. Although a theological student, and expecting soon to enter the ministry of the State Church, he had no Bible, had not read the word of God for years, seldom went to church, from custom took the Lord's Supper twice a year, and had never heard the Gospel preached. Led by a companion to a weekly prayer-meeting, held on Saturday evenings, in the house of an humble Christian, he was brought to accept Christ, and break off his old sinful habits. Dr. Tholuck, about this time, went to Halle, and proved a great blessing to the young disciple.

His change of heart was soon followed with a desire to become a missionary to the destitute, especially to the Jews. This developed a characteristic trait; for, finding that his father was greatly displeased with his missionary intentions, he at once refused to accept of the means of support furnished by the father. Casting himself upon God, his wants were supplied. Through the recommendation of Dr. Tholuck several American gentlemen, who were residing at Halle for literary purposes, employed Müller to teach them German and to transcribe lectures. They paid him so handsomely that he had enough and to spare.

By various steps, which we have not room enough to detail, he was finally led to England, and after a short season of labor among the Jews in London, he commenced his work in Teignmouth, Devonshire, early in 1830. In the same year he adopted Baptist views concerning the sacrament of baptism, and was accordingly immersed. He was not long in Teignmouth till he concluded that the system of pew-rents for the support of ministers is wrong. He, therefore, stated his views to the brethren, and avowed his purpose not to receive a stated salary. He cast himself wholly upon the good-will of the people. A box was put up in his chapel, over which was written, that whoever had a desire to do something towards his support, might put his offering into the box. He soon went a step further, and resolved that he would ask no man, not even his beloved brethren, to assist him. Says he—"*To come to this conclusion before God required more grace than to give up my salary.*" When

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he needed money for any purpose he told the Lord, never man; and most remarkably were his wants supplied. Sometimes his faith was sorely tested, but the Lord was always faithful and good. He never lacked a meal in Teignmouth, though his family, once in a long while, had nothing but bread and tea. He never ran into debt, and never lacked his daily food. His prayers were often most remarkably answered. He argues that this method of life, contrary to the supposition of many, tends to relieve him of care and free him from much anxiety. This has been his way ever since, and now as he and his wife look back over the past, they testify, "*we do not in the least regret the step we then took.*"

In 1832, he felt called of God to go to Bristol, which has ever since been the field of his principal labors. He was accompanied by a Mr. Craik, a Scottish preacher, who is still, we believe, a helper in his great work. They went to the new field with the understanding that pew-rents should be done away with, and their temporal wants supplied as in Devonshire. Nor was this hope in vain. At the end of two years' labor in Bristol, he reviews the past and notices particularly the following points:—"1. During the last three years and three months I never asked for anything; but, by the help of the Lord, I have been enabled at all times to bring my wants to him, and he graciously has supplied them all. 2. At the close of each of these four years, though my income has been comparatively great, I have had only a few shillings, or nothing at all left; and thus it is also today by the help of God. 3. During the last year a considerable part of my income has come from a distance of several thousand miles, from a brother whom I never saw. 4. Since we have been obliged to discontinue the giving away of bread to about fifty poor people every day, on account of our neighbors, our income has not been, during the second part of this year, nearly so great—scarcely one-half as much as during the first part of it."

Early in 1834, Mr. Müller entered upon the great work of his life, his peculiar mission. Deeply impressed with the destitution of multitudes in Bristol and elsewhere, and being

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conscientiously opposed to association with the religious societies around him on account of their unscriptural character as they viewed it, he and Craik resolved to establish a new institution on what they regarded as scriptural principles. The reader cannot fail to be interested in the principles and objects of this society, which is called, "The Scriptural Knowledge Institution, for Home and Abroad."

I. THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INSTITUTION.

1. We consider every believer bound, in one way or other, to help the cause of Christ, and we have scriptural warrant for expecting the Lord's blessing upon our work of faith and labor of love; and although, according to Matt. xiii. 24–43, 2 Tim. iii. 1–13, and many other passages, the world will not be converted before the coming of our Lord Jesus, still, while he tarries, all scriptural means ought to be employed for the ingathering of the elect of God.

2. The Lord helping us, we do not mean to seek the patronage of the world; *i. e.*, we never intend to *ask unconverted* persons of rank or wealth to countenance this Institution, because this, we consider, would be dishonorable to the Lord. In the name of our God we set up our banners, Ps. xx. 5; he alone shall be our patron, and if he helps us we shall prosper, and if he is not on our side we shall not succeed.

3. We do not mean to *ask* unbelievers for money, (2 Cor. vi. 14–18); though we do not feel ourselves warranted to refuse their contributions, if they of their own accord should offer them. Acts xxviii. 2–10.

4. We reject altogether the help of unbelievers in managing or carrying on the affairs of the Institution. 2 Cor. vi. 14–18.

5. We intend never to enlarge the field of labor by contracting debts, (Rom. xiii. 8.) and afterwards appealing to the church of Christ for help, because this we consider to be opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the New Testament; but in secret prayer, God helping us, we shall carry the wants of the Institution to the Lord, and act according to the means that God shall give.

6. We do not mean to reckon the success of the Institution by the amount of the money given, or the number of Bibles distributed, &c., but by the Lord's blessing upon the

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work, (Zech. iv. 6); and we expect this in the proportion in which he shall help us to wait upon him in prayer.

7. While we would avoid aiming after needless singularity, we desire to go on simply according to Scripture, without compromising the truth; at the same time thankfully receiving any instruction which experienced believers, after prayer, upon scriptural ground, may have to give us concerning the Institution.

II. THE OBJECTS OF THE INSTITUTION.

1. To *assist* day schools, Sabbath schools, and adult schools in which instruction is given upon *scriptural principles*, and as far as the Lord may give the means, and supply us with suitable teachers, and in other respects make our path plain, to establish schools of this kind. With this we also combine *the putting of poor children to such day schools.*

a. By day schools upon scriptural principles, we understand day schools in which the teachers are godly persons—in which the way of salvation is scripturally pointed out—and in which no instruction is given opposed to the principles of the Gospel.

b. Sabbath schools, in which all the teachers are believers, and in which the Holy Scriptures are alone the foundation of instruction, are such only as the Institution assists with the supply of Bibles, Testaments, etc.; for we consider it unscriptural that any persons who do not profess to know the Lord themselves should be allowed to give religious instruction.

c. The Institution does not assist any adult school with the supply of Bibles, Testaments, spelling books, etc., except the teachers are believers.

2. To circulate the Holy Scriptures.

3. To aid missionary efforts. We desire to assist those missionaries whose proceedings appear to be most according to the Scriptures.

Such are the objrcts of Müller's Institution, and such are his principles of action. With these objects and these principles, he set out on a very limited scale, gradually increasing his operations according to the means put into his hands. According to statistics in the work before us, the whole

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number of pupils hitherto instructed in all the day, evening, and Sabbath schools, is 13,124. One hundred missionaries are now wholly, or in part, depending on him for support. Since 1834, there have been circulated—Bibles, 24,768; Testaments, 15,100; Psalms, 719; other portions of Scripture, 1,876; or total, 42,463 Bibles or portions of Scripture. Tracts and books, (not pages, but separate publications,) 11,493,174.

This is by no means all. About the close of 1835, he felt constrained to undertake the founding of an asylum for destitute orphans. He was led to do this for reasons that every pastor can appreciate. He found men in various ways dishonoring their profession—some by over-toil, others by pursuing unlawful callings, others by conducting lawful business in an unlawful way. None seemed to trust God as a living Father. He felt he must do something, if possible, to prove to men that all should "take God at his word, and rely upon it." Hence he adopted, after much prayer and consultation, his plan for an Orphan House in Bristol. He felt that if he, a poor man, by faith and prayer, could establish and carry on such an institution, it would be something to strengthen the faith of believers. December 9, 1835, he held a public meeting, and announced his purpose. He prayed in secret for a thousand pounds and suitable men to take care of the children. Immediately contributions began to flow in upon him, and persons to offer their services. The sums varied from a half-penny to a hundred pounds. The orphan house was opened in a few months, and now the following statistics present the result of the labors in this department. The whole number of *orphans* educated within the establishment is 1,153. Of the 700 now in the Institution, 260 are hopefully pious. Two large buildings have been erected, and a third is in the process of erection; the land on which they stand has been purchased. He has thus purchased the necessary lands, erected the buildings, employed teachers and assistants, and fed, clothed, and educated these hundreds of children, at an expense of more than half a million of dollars. All this has been done by a man who does not own a dollar. He has never gone into debt,

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never wanted a meal for his orphans, never asked an individual directly or indirectly for a penny. He publishes annually a report of his operations, and makes an acknowledgment of all donations, but never publishes the names of the donors, even when known. Any person who gives can thus satisfy himself that his donation has been received, while no one is induced to give in the hope of seeing his name in the list of benefactors. His accounts are annually audited by a committee of business men. The whole sum which he has obtained since the beginning of his remarkable work, in answer to prayer, without a personal appeal to any individual, is nearly one million of dollars!

The work before us details step by step the way in which the Lord has led Mr. Müller. At four different times he published a narrative of his life, with a report of his Institution. The editor has condensed these publications, and arranged the matter in a manner both convenient and tasteful. While we would not be understood as endorsing all that Mr. Müller has done or has written, we cannot refrain from expressing our conviction that his work will prove interesting and instructive as a most striking illustration of the power of faith and prayer. In these days when there is so much in the management of our benevolent operations so humiliating to every honorable mind, this "Life of Trust" may teach a timely lesson.

II. Addresses to the Candidates for Ordination, on the Questions in the Ordination Service. By the Bishop of Oxford. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1861. 12mo., pp. 390.

"Can there be any good thing come out of Oxford?" we said to ourselves as we took up this book. On examination, we find it replete with wise and pious thoughts such as all ministers will find profitable and refreshing. The questions put by the English Ordinal are solemn and momentous, and the aim of the Bishop of Oxford was, while explaining these heart-searching inquiries, to stir up suitable affections in

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those about to enter the ministerial office—an office as full of perils as it is full of honors. He treats with much ability, freshness, aud unction such topics as the Inward Call, the Glory of God, the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, the Ministration of Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline, the Driving away of Erroneous and Strange Doctrines, Private Ministrations to the Sick and to the Whole, Diligence in Prayer, Diligence in the Study of Scripture, &c. Puseyite views, as was to be expected, are held concerning the sacrament of baptism, apostolical succession, and the ministry. He claims to stand midway between Rome and Geneva. But, although we cannot endorse his Episcopal peculiarities, we are free to say, it is a book eminently adapted to arouse ministers of the word to greater holiness and zeal in their master's work. We quote a paragraph or two on knowing and loving God, which our ministerial brethren will know how to appreciate.

"You must live near to God, if you would know Him so as to be able to declare Him, and you can only thus live near to Him by loving him; and love, which opens the blind eyes so that they may seek Him, is his gift; it is love which places you in 'the cleft of the rock' as He passes by: 'He that loveth is born of God and knoweth God, for God is love.' Yes, ever remember it, love is His gift, His gift to those that wait on Him. Without it everything else is vain; and it can, from its own treasures, supply everything beside which you may need.

"For the love of God will make you indeed know Him for yourself; and it will make you love your brother, and so know him too, for love is ready-eyed and sharp-sighted. The loving soul will see what his brother needs, and be ready to supply it; for love is quick and true in applying remedies, and has that master power which must dwell in every healer, that it draws the sufferer to itself, instead of driving him away. There is a tenderness in love which makes its touch so light that even the most deeply wounded will bear its handling; there is a reality about it which makes it go straight to the true point. And this will make all our ministry, and especially our sermons, effective. Instead of the dry, wandering, unreal generalities, the fine writing, or the unmeaning repetition of phrases which make so many sermons so absolutely intolerable, they will be felt

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by those who hear them to be indeed living voices, voices about God, voices about themselves; as good news from the far land, as the message the weary soul wants. They will have abundantly that strength and blessing which the living words of men otherwise, perhaps, somewhat unfurnished, but whose souls have been full of love to Christ, have ever been found to have piercing through the crust of carelessness and sin, and reaching home, as the very power of God, to the drowsy or the stricken conscience.

We would not, indeed, hope to make all the members of so numerous a body as the English clergy orators. But then it is not oratory we want. We want the plain, earnest, real, practical addresses of men who, having found Christ for themselves, long, like St. Andrew of old, to lead their brother to Him. We want men to speak closely and really of sin and of salvation, of heaven and hell, of corruption and of Christ. And how little do the ordinary run of sermons fulfill these requirements? How many sermons seem to be composed with no better idea than that they must occupy a certain time prescribed by custom, and that they must be filled with the religious phrases current in this or that school of theological opinion. Hence we find in them prefaces of inordinate length, porches larger than the buildings to which they lead: truisms uttered with a calm perseverance of a dull repetition which is almost marvellous: vague generalities about the fall and about redemption, as if these awful mysteries were empty words, and not living, burning verities. * * * * *
And, my brethren, can we wonder if, under such preaching, men slumber on unawakened; if conversions are few, if edification is scanty, if sinners abound, if saints are rare, if, though the prophet prophesy, all be still as it was of old; if there be no noise, nor shaking, nor coming together of the bones, bone to his bone? To such a dead, condemning ministry, I earnestly pray God, even our Father, for his Son's sake, that none of you may at this time be sent forth."

III. COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES, with other Treatises. By E. W. Hengstenberg, D.D., Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated from the German by D. W. Simon. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. 8vo., pp. 488. Price $2 00.

Besides the Commentary and the Introduction thereto,

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this volume contains "Prolegomena to the Song of Solomon," (page 36); "The Book of Job," (page 32); "The Prophet Isaiah," (page 24); "The Sacrifices of Holy Scripture," (page 42); "The Jews and the Christian Church," (page 67). It also contains a threefold index, (1) Hebrew Words Explained, (2) Passages of Scripture Explained and Illustrated, and (3) Principal Subjects Treated of or Incidentally Discussed.

In the introduction to the Commentary Hengstenberg maintains that Solomon was not the author of Ecclesiastes, —that it was not only not composed by Solomon, but does not even pretend to have been. He supposes it was written while the Persians held dominion over the people of God. As to the author's inspiration, Hengstenberg says:—"The writer does not profess himself to be an organ of immediate Divine revelations;" yet he holds that "his inspiration must be conceived specially as preserving, purifying, and heightening the natural powers of his mind."

Though we cannot agree to some of Hengsenberg's exegetical and theological views, this commentary, and the accompanying dissertations on other topics, are worthy of the careful attention of biblical students. He is one of the greatest and most reliable among the evangelical writers of modern Germany. This edition is in the very best style of the publishers.

IV. The Book and its Story: A Narrative for the Young. By L. N. R., Author of the Missing Link. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1861. 12mo., pp. 463.

This is a work of more value than many more pretentious volumes. The book is, of course, the Bible. The first part contains an account of the sacred volume from the beginning of revelation to the completion of the sacred canon, with interesting details of its translation and circulation down to 1804. The second part furnishes a view of the London Bible-house, and the printing and binding of the Bible. The third part contains a detailed account of the

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rise, progress and present operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It furnishes the youthful reader with many curious and valuable facts not elsewhere easily accessible, and much that will make him prize the Bible as the most precious gift of God to our nation. While specially intended for the young, many older heads will find the book to fill an important place in the library.

V. THE BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM: Or, the Scriptures as a Means of Civilization. By R. H. Tyler, A. M., of Fulton, N. Y. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860. 12mo., pp. 366.

Mr. Tyler, we understand, is a lawyer by profession. For this reason, he will be read by many who would not take up the work if written by a divine. He has succeeded in producing a very readable book, but many things quite common-place, with all intelligent preachers, are brought out as if Mr. Tyler had first discovered them. His views of the inspiration of the Scriptures are sound. His first main proposition is, that no people can be civilized without the Bible. The second is, that no people will always remain uncivilized with the Bible. These positions are illustrated and established by ample references to the history of nations, ancient and modern, civilized and uncivilized. Some of the practical lessons drawn from the main doctrine are enforced, though, in this respect, the author is somewhat defective. He does not meet the social problems of the day like Peter Bayne and other writers on Christian civilization. In a word, while he maintains the true doctrine, he does not go far enough—is a little behind his age.

VI. AN EXPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. By the Rev. Charles Bridges, M. A. Rector of Hinton Martell, Dorset. Author of an "Exposition of Psalm cxix.," "Commentary on Proverbs," &c. Carters.

Unlike Hengstenberg, Bridges firmly believes Solomon

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to be the author of the book of Ecclesiastes. The commentary is adapted to common readers, though the more critical student will find a reward if he considers it. "Practical instruction and Christian edification" were aimed at by the commentator rather than novelty and originality. This after all is the true aim, and, other things being equal, such a writer will bring forth in the end really more "new things" than those who seem to think they know almost as much as apostles and prophets.

VII. THE PRESBYTERIAN MANUAL: Containing Forms for the Records of the Session, Presbytery and Synod; and for the Judicial and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings required by the polity of the Presbyterian Church. By John N. Lewis, lately Stated Clerk of the Synod of New York and New Jersey. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee.

Our New-School brethren have done well in presenting this book to the Presbyterian family. No man can be insensible to the importance of having the minutes of church courts correctly kept. An incompetent clerk is a great drawback in many ways. The book before us furnishes us the most approved forms of recording the various proceedings of sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, and also the proper forms in cases of discipline, appeals, dissents and protests, &c. In a word, it lays before a clerk every form that he will need. Mr. Lewis, evidently well versed in such matters, accompanies the forms with such explanatory remarks as the case may require. The part concerning the dedication of churches will be considered superfluous by United Presbyterians. This "Clerk's Assistant" is the only book of its kind. Some of our more experienced brethren need not its help; but we recommend our brethren generally to get a copy for themselves and for their clerk of sessions.

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VIII. MARTIN'S NATURAL HISTORY. Translated from the 35th German Edition, by Sarah A. Myers: Containing Two Hundred and Sixty-Two Beautifully Colored Illustrations. First Series. New York: Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. 1861. 12mo., 467 pages. $1 50.

"O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all." The more we study Natural History aright, the better can we sing the praises of our Creator. We can never forget the exalted pleasure which this department of study afforded us in our college days. The merit of Martin is that he is able to condense into reasonable compass the information now available respecting the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms. The first series treats of the Mammalia, Birds and Reptiles. The American edition contains valuable additions respecting the minerals, plants and animals of this country. It is strange that when such books of entertainment as this abound, trash should be in so large demand.

IX. A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By Moses Stuart, Late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Edited and revised by R. D. C. Robbins, Professor in Middlebury College. Fourth Edition. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1860. 12mo., pp. 475. $1 75.

The scholarship of Professor Stuart is unquestionable, though his exegesis is sometimes sadly at fault. The various questions touching the literature of the epistle are discussed at great length. Some two hundred and fifty pages are devoted to the consideration of the canonical authority of the Epistle, its authorship and kindred points. The commentary proper is followed by twenty dissertations on as many difficult passages. A translation of the Epistle by the author completes the volume. Professor Robbins has made some changes, but he affirms that none are at variance with the

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theological or exegetical views of Professor Stuart. We suppose that scholars will regard this as one of the most valuable productions of the Andover school.

X. New American Encyclopædia. Vol. XI. *Macgillivray—Moxa.* Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

We are frequently asked what we think of this work. We have but one reply, and that is, that it is, in our judgment, the best of its kind. With the exception of some articles on religious subjects, where, as we formerly observed, a rationalistic tendency is manifest, it is all that we could look for or desire. In everything pertaining to this country it is specially rich. Thousands of books are dispensable; a good encyclopædia is not. The price of this is three dollars per volume. Every minister should have it, if possible, and many of our intelligent farmers and others will never regret it, if they secure the work for themselves.

XI. The Still Hour: Or, Communion with God. By Austin Phelps, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo., pp. 186.

A timely little treatise on secret prayer, written with unction and rare felicity.

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THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

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ARTICLE I.—THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND: ITS NECESSITY, CAUSES, AND RESULTS.

It is just * three hundred years since the First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland sat in the city of Edinburgh; or, in other words, since Scotland obeyed the mandate addressed to her through him,† who, under God, was her deliverer from political tyranny and spiritual thraldom: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. This important epoch in the history of Presbyterianism is being appropriately commemorated by the churches of the Reformation throughout the world; and we would be false to our duty, as religious journalists, did we omit to contribute our feeble effort to perpetuate the remembrance of an event fraught with so many blessings and advantages to our own and other lands. We rejoice that we have lived to see its three hundredth anniversary. But more, that we are privileged to behold its living fruits, and enjoy, in common

* December 20th, 1860.

† Knox.

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with other nations, its sacred blessings. It is an event worthy of being commemorated by every American citizen, whether native or foreign born. Where is the heart that does not feel grateful for its astounding developments and its glorious results?

The *Necessity* of a Reformation is at once visible when we survey the state of Scotland and the world prior to its establishment. Sin is filled with nothing but principles of disorganization. It shivers every system with which it comes in contact into fragments. It has destroyed many nations, kingdoms and dynasties, and left not a remaining vestige. Under the dissolving power of the corruptions and abominations of the Man of Sin, society must soon have lost its cohesive properties and gone to utter ruin, had not God in his mercy, and through his own chosen instrumentalities, effected a reformation.

Copious and inexhaustible as our language is, we cannot find words sufficiently expressive to convey any adequate idea of the moral and spiritual wretchedness which existed, both in Insular and Continental Europe, prior to the establishment of the Reformation. Religion scarcely existed even by name. It could not have been altogether, but it was almost, effaced. It was wrapped in the black mantle of Popery, and buried, as it were, in the grave of idolatry and superstition. In the appropriate and emphatic language of the prophet, darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. True, an oasis was sometimes visible in the moral desert of sin. Here and there were a few bright, verdant and sunny spots, but their brightness only served to deepen the surrounding gloom and render the darkness more visible. The Taborites, as the followers of John Huss were called from the fortified city of Tabor, in Bohemia, were so weakened and reduced, by long continued persecution, that they had become merged into the "Bohemian Brethren." And, although these Brethren had, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, some two hundred parishes and a church in almost every one of them, they were, nevertheless, so diminutive in the eyes of Rome that she looked upon them with nothing but feelings of indigna-

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tion, contempt and scorn. The valleys embosomed between the Alps and the Apennines were lit up by the pure light of the noble, heroic and evangelical Waldenses, as their magnificent terraces and undulating slopes reverberated with the sublime doctrines of free, rich and sovereign grace. These, with the followers of John Wickliffe, the Lollards of Scotland, constituted the principal lights of Christendom, prior to the glorious dawn of the Reformation morning. But oh! how weak, feeble and dim the light when all the world, beside, was wondering after the beast.*

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, Rome felicitated herself with being sovereign over the nations of the earth. She sat as queen and declared, "I shall never be moved." The Pope, claiming to be the vicar of Christ arrogated to himself universal supremacy, and held it to be his inalienable right to exercise absolute and uncontrolled authority over the whole Christian Church. He was not satisfied with the despotic assumption of ecclesiastical power. He assumed the civil as well, and declared himself to be the supreme potentate of the kings and rulers of the earth. He dethroned and elevated princes and kings at his pleasure, in so far, at least, as the bare formality went. Although very few had the fortitude and bravery to resist his temporal supremacy and authority, yet, it was not in all cases as quietly and as tamely submitted to as his ecclesiastical tyranny, and in some instances it was resisted with triumphant success. But when a king, emperor, or other potentate, did assert his manhood and independence by refusing to comply with the demands of the arrogant and haughty pontiff, the most terrible vengeance was poured upon his guilty and disobedient head. A bull of excommunication was immediately fulminated against him—his subjects were no longer under an obligation to acknowledge and submit to his authority—and he who succeeded in taking away his life, was declared not only to have performed God's service, but was rewarded with a free passport into the regions of eternal elysium. "All other princes

* Morrison.

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were summoned to make war against him—the churches throughout the country were shut up"—the people deprived of religious rites—"the sacraments suspended—the dead were buried in the highways, and the muffled bells rang a funeral peal, as if some fearful curse hung over the devoted land." Many crowned heads who had been disobedient to his arrogant demands had either to perform the most menial service for the sovereign pontiff, or travel many a weary league, of land and sea, to solicit his paternal forgiveness. "Two of them," says M'Crie, "one the King of England, another the King of France, were compelled to hold the Pope's stirrup while he mounted on horseback; a third was ordered to lie prostrate on the earth, while the haughty pontiff, placing his foot on his majesty's neck, exclaimed, 'Thou shalt tread upon the serpent, and trample on the dragon and lion;' another was whipped by proxy—the Cardinal of Lorraine having received the lashes on his bare back in the name of his royal master, lying flat, as D'Aubigne expresses it, 'like a mackerel on a gridiron;' while another, (Henry IV., Emperor of Germany,) having offended the Pope, traveled to his residence to beg his forgiveness; and there did he stand at the gate, barefooted and bareheaded, for the space of three days ere 'his Holiness' would admit him to his presence; and after all, the haughty pontiff deprived him of his crown, and transferred it to another."

If we turn from the political to the moral state of affairs we will find that things, if possible, were still worse. The Pope was not satisfied when he claimed absolute supremacy over princes, peasants and religious communities; nor even when he asserted that he was equal with God. For, though it is difficult to conceive of any being higher than the Supreme Ruler of the universe, "he went so far as to 'exalt himself above the Most High.'" He ridiculed—indeed destroyed—all moral distinctions,—"consecrated vice—dispensed with the obligations of the Divine law—invented new sins, and created new worlds in which they might be punished."

Towards the close of the eleventh century indulgences

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were invented by Pope Urban II., as a reward for those who would enlist in the glorious work of subjugating the Holy Land. In this doctrine of indulgences it was laid down, that all works of supererogation, or good deeds performed by the saints, over and above what is required for their own personal justification, are deposited with the merits of Christ in one common treasury, upon which the sovereign pontiff may draw at pleasure, and transfer to any purchaser according to the amount of money which he may have invested. It was not, however, until the beginning of the sixteenth century that this doctrine was openly avowed and maintained. At this time, indulgences were offered at public sale upon the streets, and, for a fixed sum of money, a man might indulge in any sin and procure absolution from any crime.

The character of the men who swayed the destinies of both church and state in those days, prevents us from expecting a healthy state of morals. Let one or two *standard* specimens suffice. Pope Alexander VI. was a monster of iniquity. There was not a crime, in the long black catalogue of crime, of which he was not guilty. His pontificate was characterized by strategy, debauchery, murder, licentiousness and sensuality of every species. He continued to disgrace the "See of St. Peter" for about twelve years, when happily both for morals and religion, his life was terminated by a satanic device through which he had expected to destroy the lives of others. In order to replenish the coffers which he had entirely exhausted in procuring gratification for his lusts, he purposed to poison the rich cardinals and then appropriate their wealth. This plan was attended with no little difficulty—for the ecclesiastics attached to the court had, for a considerable time, been very dubious of Vatican banquets, and generally declined an invitation. Alexander requested Cardinal Corneto to lend him his villa for the purpose of giving a sumptuous dinner to his friends, pledging himself at the same time to defray all the expense if Corneto would prepare the banquet. This stratagem proved to be a grand success. Not a prelate declined the invitation. When the day of the festival

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arrived Alexander despatched one of his servants to the villa with two bottles of Borgian wine, strongly impregnated with arsenic or some other poisonous ingredient. The Pope and his son, (popes had sons in those days, and they are not absolutely childless in these,) the notorious Cæsar Borgia, walked from the Vatican to the villa on foot. It being the month of August the pontiff felt somewhat fatigued on his arrival, and asked for a glass of wine. By some mistake he was served with the poisoned wine—and was thrown, immediately, into the most terrible convulsions. He was conveyed back to the palace, where he died, during the night, in a state of the most horrid agony. His death filled Rome herself with joy. Contrary to all custom and example, there was not a single devotee to kiss his feet or his hands; whilst the most humble priest refused to take part in the funeral obsequies, so that "the dead body was abandoned to the carpenters and porters, who placed it in a coffin which was too short, and into which they forced it by pressing in the feet, and striking it with a hammer." And yet, this notorious libertine seems to have had the sovereign control of Europe, from 1491 to 1503. What a miserable climax to the fifteenth century! After the death of his successor, who occupied the pontifical throne only for twenty-six days, the chair of "St. Peter," was seized by Julius II. This "holy father" was full of fraud, deception, and treachery. He was a despot and a tyrant, but "God took pity on Italy, and delivered the earth from this abominable Pope, on the 23d of February, 1513." He was succeeded in the same year by Leo X., whose character is well known to every cursory reader of history. He would not stop at the commission of any crime that would secure to him the end he desired. His wickedness and tyranny became so intolerable that the people were very anxious to get rid of a system which would give countenance to, and confer power upon, libertines, spend-thrifts, and atheists. We cannot doubt, but that his unblushing conduct in exposing indulgences for sale, with the view of realizing a sufficient amount of funds to complete the church of St. Peter at

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Rome, engendered that discontent which led, in a short time, to the Reformation in Germany and elsewhere.*

We could relate many such cases; but they would make the soul too sick. What, we ask, must have been the state of the world when it was filled with hosts of priests, abbots, confessors, gray friars, black friars, white friars, and friars of every color?—who had such men as Alexander, Julius and Leo for their head and the standard of their morality! Yet, these different orders penetrated into almost every country, and, by means of the confessional, wrested the secrets of every palace and of every heart.

But with all its lying wonders and deceivableness of unrighteousness, Popery had to be resisted. No rational people could tolerate, for ever, a system so absurd, irrational, and heaven-daring; and the monstrous iniquity had now culminated to its loftiest elevation. It had reached the acme of its power. And, strange to say, it carried within itself the elements of its own destruction. Many crowned heads and private members of the Romish Church were constrained to denounce, in the most unmeasured terms, the spiritual and political despotism of the Man of Sin. There were many, even within the pale of Peter's see, who longed, and sighed, and prayed for the time when power would be given to enable them to throw off the yoke and rend the chain of their galling bondage. Pontifical bulls, and decretals, and the enactments of councils were now viewed by many as being synonymous "with fraud, violence, avarice, and political wrong." Indeed, "the lives of the clergy had become so reckless and dissolute, as to provoke the derision of earth, and the wrath of heaven."

This general description of the state of Christendom prior to the Reformation, would apply very well to Scotland, for, so far as lying wonders, deceivableness of unrighteousness, treachery, despotism, and impurity in her leaders were concerned, Rome was everywhere the same. It is necessary, however, to a just appreciation of our subject to take a brief survey of the state of things as they existed in old Caledonia.

* Cormenin.

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Very little, it is acknowledged by all writers, is known of the early history of Scotland. When the Romans first penetrated into North Britain, under the command of Julius Agricola, during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, they found it inhabited by no less than twenty-one different tribes; each of which was circumscribed by its own territory, and followed in the lead of its own chief. These savage tribes "were connected by such slight ties as scarcely to enjoy a social state." Owing to their habit of painting their bodies with variegated colors, in process of time they were called Picts, *Picti*—the painted.

These northern tribes were subjected to almost continual assaults from the Romans who inhabited the southern part of the island. The latter were compelled to beat a retreat, A. D., 420, in consequence of the approach of the Goths, who at length reduced Britain to a state of utter desolation. Here it is necessary to notice, that from the beginning of the sixth century the Caledonians or Picts, were called Scoti, or Scots, from a colony of Irish colonists who took up their residence in Scotland about that time. Scotia was the ancient name of Ireland, and its inhabitants were called Scotists for about eleven centuries of the Christian era. Buchanan errs, most certainly, when he says, that Ireland was called Scotia "towards the middle ages," and "that this naming of Ireland by the name of Scotland was first about Beda's time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth age;" for the venerable Bede, says another, speaking of Ireland, uses the following language:—*Hæc autem propria patria Scotorum est*—this is the proper country of the Scots. It is unjust, then, to call the Ulster Presbyterians Scotch-Irish. They are the Irish-Scotch. "Scotia, which is also called Hibernia (Ireland), is an island of the main ocean of a truly fertile soil, but more renowned for its holy men;" hence it is frequently called in history the Island of Saints, or the Holy Island.

These Scots, or ancient Hibernians, made frequent excursions into Caledonia, either for military or pillaging purposes. But in the beginning of the sixth century, say some, whilst others say, in the latter end of the third, a large

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colony of these Scoti went over into Pickland, with the view of making it their permanent abode. The Picts in course of time disappeared entirely, whilst the Scots increased and flourished; and the name of the country was changed into Scotland, owing to the predominancy of the latter. Thus Scotland derived its name from Ireland.

Amidst the many conflicting statements made in regard to it, it is a difficult thing for us to say, at this remote period, at what precise time Christianity was first introduced into Scotland. The general belief of historians in the present day is, that the first dawn of Christianity fell upon that bleak and barren land towards the close of the second century. Tertullian, one of the early Christian fathers, who was born, A.D., 160, and gave a number of works to the world before the beginning of the third century, is very good authority upon this subject; and in speaking of the spread of the Gospel in the close of the second century, he says:—"The Gospel was diffused into all parts of the world, yea, into Britain, and into that part of the island whereunto the Roman forces did never penetrate." Origen, another of the Christian fathers, writing about A.D., 220, says:—"The power of God our Saviour is even with them who are in Britain shut out from the world." These testimonies are not absolutely relied upon by historians, and yet to us they seem not only plausible but reliable. We know the effect which the persecutions produced that prevailed in the times of Stephen. They were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles, and went everywhere preaching the word. Similar effects were produced by the fearful persecutions which raged throughout the Roman empire from A.D., 64, to A.D., 213. Many sincere Christians were, in all probability, driven into the British Isles for refuge; and Rome's persecuting rage following them even thither, they were necessitated to take up their abode in remote and obscure corners, where they kept the Gospel lamp burning brightly.

In the beginning of the third century Donald I. embraced the Christian religion, and did every thing in his power, says Buchanan, "to cast out idolatry from his dominions,

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and to settle the ministry of the gospel in every corner thereof." In this design, however, he was frustrated by the almost incessant warfare which he had to wage against the Romans. Other kings, after Donald, gave their influence towards the advancement of the cause of Christianity.—Honorable mention may be made, in this connection, of Fincormac, under whose reign "the gospel flourished in peace and purity." Fincormac died in A. D. 358. History begins at this time to throw some light on the form of ecclesiastical government which existed in Scotland. At the close of the fourth century, a Roman family was residing at Kilpatrick, a short distance from the city of Glasgow; and in the beginning of the following century, a member of that family, whose name was *Patrick*, having heard much of Ireland through the Scots who frequently visited Scotland, either with a warlike or predatory design, came to the determination that he would go over and endeavor to evangelize the country of the *Scoti*. Archbishop Usher, quoting from Nennius,* says: "At the beginning St. Patrick founded 365 churches, and ordained 365 Bishops, besides 3000 Presbyters." It is easy to see from this that Patrick was a good Presbyterian. The system of ecclesiastical polity which he constructed was neither black prelacy, nor red Popery. It was Presbyterial in form. Each congregation had its own Bishop to watch over it, and attend to its spiritual wants; and about eight ruling elders were ordained in connection with each pastor or bishop. Episcopacy is only another name for Presbytery; but *prelacy* is a very different thing from both. Now, we may legitimately infer that Presbytery existed in Scotland as early, at least, as the days of St. Patrick.

* Nennius, who wrote in the 7th century, says, that the original name of Patrick was Maur, and that the name Patricius (Patrick) was given to him when he was consecrated by Pope Celestine. His pontifical consecration seems to have been of very little benefit to Rome, for if he was a Papist at all, he very soon became a Presbyterian. Some authors say that he was born either in Pembrokeshire, in Wales, or Brittany, in France. But his own account is, that he was born in Kilpatrick, (Bonavern,) between Dumbarton and Glasgow; and he is the best authority, perhaps, even in regard to the matter of his *birth*.

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This was not the first time that Ireland enjoyed the light of Christianity. The labors of Patrick, under God, were followed by a mere *revival* of religion. And, as the work of God was revived in Ireland through the instrumentality of a supposed Scotchman, the same work was resuscitated in Scotland through the labors of a veritable Irishman. Religion declined very much in Scotland after the days of Fincormac. It was revived under the following circumstances:—After Patrick had slept in the tomb for about a hundred years, Columba, a native of Ireland, who was animated by a similar spirit, resolved to pay back his labors by preaching the Gospel in Scotland. Accordingly, he chose twelve companions from among his countrymen, who were to act as his co-laborers, and with them set sail for Scotland; and having been made the honored instrument, in the hands of God, of bringing the northern Picts to a knowledge of Christianity, he repaired, with the twelve companions originally chosen, to the island of Iona, where he landed in A. D., 563. After considerable negotiation, the King of the Picts gave him a grant of the island, and upon it he founded a Theological Seminary, in which the Bible was made the only text-book. It was in this theological institution that the "pure Culdees" received their religious education, and were trained for becoming missionaries of the cross. Iona was the principal seat of the Culdees, and they owed their establishment in it to Columba, who, as soon as they received the necessary theological training, sent them out to preach the Gospel to the dark and benighted regions which lay on every side of their island home. These devout servants or worshipers of the true God, as their name signifies, extended their missionary operations into England, Scotland, Wales, and other places, and threw their bright light—greatly obscured as it was by the opposing darkness of Popery—almost into the very dawn of the Reformation morning. Their evangelical labors were greatly hindered, however, by the continual warfare that was waged among the Picts and Scots, Britons, Romans, and Saxons. We cannot do better than give the words of Hetherington in regard to the effects which these

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hostilities produced:—"Although the intestine feuds of the Scots and Picts must have greatly retarded the progress of Christianity among them, yet their neighbors of the southern part of the island were in a much worse condition. It is well known that, on the final departure of the Romans from Britain, the enfeebled Britons applied to the Saxons for aid against the invasions of the Scots and Picts; and were themselves, after a protracted and bloody struggle, completely subdued by their faithless auxiliaries. The effect of these devastating wars was the complete ascendency of the Saxons in England, and the entire extinction of Christianity in the territories upon which they had seized; the remainder of the British race, with what of Christianity survived among them, being driven into the mountain fastnesses of Wales, where, accordingly, the relics of the primitive Culdee system continued for a considerable time to exist."

Peace having been restored, the Culdees resumed their missionary labors, and extended their operations to the Saxons. But just when their labors seemed to be beginning to be crowned with success, Gregory the Great sent forty Popish missionaries into Britain, at the head of whom he placed the monk Augustine. The design of their mission was to oppose the progress of the Culdees: and in this they were successful. "This was the commencement of the corruption and tyranny of the Romish Church in Britain." The Culdees were under the necessity of returning to Scotland; but Rome in her intolerant and persecuting rage followed them thither, and gave herself neither rest nor peace, until, in the 13th century, she accomplished their "final suppression."

In the end of the seventh century, many, who were "given to ambition and avarice," went from Scotland to Rome for the purpose of getting promotion in the church. And everything that human ingenuity could invent or devise was plied for the advancement of the Romish cause. In the eighth century, the people were so infatuated that they accounted it "a truly holy martyrdom to suffer for the interest of Rome." In the ninth century, the corruptions of the church were so gross, and the riots of ecclesiastics so

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numerous and scandalizing, that a convention of estates was held at Scoon, under Constantine II., to devise means for effecting a reformation of existing disorders. In the tenth century, Constantine III. was so intoxicated with the honors of Rome that he was induced to lay aside his regal crown and assume "the clerical tonsure of a monk!" Dignified idleness, worldly pride, insatiable ambition, and corrupting avarice had now subverted the pure religion of the cross. In the following century, the bishops claimed the right of lording it over some defined locality, and arrogated to themselves a power superior to that of kings, upon whom they pretended to confer honors at pleasure. Accordingly, Scotland was divided, in this century, into five bishoprics,* or dioceses. In the reign of David I., about A. D., 1140, Popery had become strongly rooted in the kingdom, and, from this time forward, made the most rapid progress, owing to the fostering care which it received at the hands of that ambitious prince, who desired to have a religion established in Scotland that would vie successfully with the prelatic pomp, parade, and splendor of the Church of England—with the magnificent glory of which he had become deeply enamored during his temporary residence in that kingdom. David erected four additional dioceses, viz.:—Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld and Dumblain: and was so liberal to the bishops that he bestowed upon them a large "part of the ancient patrimony of the crown," the only good effects of which, were, that it caused the clergy to give themselves to rioting and idleness, and so increased the national taxation as to render it almost intolerable by the people. In the thirteenth century, Scotland was inundated with Dominican, Franciscan, and Jacobin monks, "and sundry other of that sort of locusts." "These vermin monks" organized a system of ecclesiastical mendicancy which literally consumed the people, and robbed the poor of their scanty pittance.†

* The names of the five original dioceses were—St. Andrews, Glasgow, Caithness, Murray, Murthlæ, or Aberdeen.

† Buchanan.

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Thus, century after century, matters grew worse and worse, until "The social structure of Scotland," says Hetherington, "had gradually reached the last stage of development of which such a system was capable." The Romish clergy were enabled to carry on their horrid system of iniquity and corruption, through the aid of those princely donations of land which were made to them by David and other kings. But even these were over-ruled, by Divine Providence, for good. Though made with the best intention of perpetuating the Papacy, they, nevertheless, proved destructive to its interests through their magnitude. The wealth and luxurious manner of living which the clergy enjoyed filled the minds of the nobility of the realm with envy; so that they became their bitterest and most determined opponents, and labored with might and main to subvert their influence and destroy their power. Indeed, says Dr. McCrie, "Scotland was reformed not by her peasantry, but by her nobility."

But to return. It is the opinion of the best historians that the disfigurations which the Christian religion suffered in Scotland, were greater than those which it received in any other nation. The people were rude, ignorant and illiterate. Vice and crime were rampant both in church and state; and the grossest frauds, deception and treachery were everywhere perpetrated under the sacred name and guise of religion. By their low cunning, unprincipled artifice, sly insinuations, unblushing impudence and hypocritical adulation, the clergy had succeeded in securing to themselves more than one-half of the national wealth. The consequence was, that the nobility were eclipsed and thrown into obscurity by the superior magnificence and splendor of the Bishops. But horrible to be told; these high ecclesiastical functionaries made a public boast of the harlots they kept—"gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility" —whilst their bastard sons, in common with black-legs, itinerant poetasters or ballad-singers, and illiterate profligates, were put into the possession of inferior benefices.— Clerical life and manners were an outrage upon all propriety —an indelible stigma on humanity and a foul blot on reli-

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gion. The fires of persecution blazed fiercely—the right of private judgment was absolutely ignored—free inquiry suppressed, and the use of the Scriptures positively prohibited.* Christianity had become so marred and deformed, that if her original propagators had risen from their graves they would not have known her. It is a libel upon her pure and unadulterated principles, to dignify the religion that prevailed in Scotland prior to the Reformation with the sacred name of Christianity. Such a state of things required reformation. There was in the then existing state of ecclesiastical affairs a stern *necessity* for the re-forming of the life and manners of both the clergy and the laity.

The *Causes* which contributed to the establishment of the Reformation were numerous. To some of them we have already incidentally referred. Our space will not permit us to do more, now, than mention a few of the more prominent.

The *Revival of Literature* and the invention of the *Art of Printing* contributed greatly to the advancing cause of the Reformation. A revived and healthy state of letters is one of the most unmistakable evidences of a progressing civilization. It is a difficult thing to estimate, exactly, the amount of influence which literature exerts on the morality of a nation or community. Some religious writer has remarked, "That we frequently read a literary work without acquiring any positive knowledge at all, or forgetting it as soon as acquired; but very rarely without receiving some moral impression." If this be so, the cultivation of a literary taste must be of decided advantage to the cause of virtue and godliness. At what a low ebb, then, must morality and religion have been during the long period known as the *middle ages*, extending from the days of Constantine to the time when cast metal was first used in typography? During the whole of that period the nations of the earth were wrapped in literary slumber. There was, comparatively, no literary activity. This was a most favorable state of things for the progress and prosperity of Romanism. "Ignorance is the mother of devotion," has

* M'Crie's Knox.

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ever been an axiom in the Papal church. Such a system, indeed, as that which we have briefly sketched, could be maintained and defended only amidst an ignorant and uncultivated people. The revival of letters, therefore, which took place in the latter end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, revealed to the people the darkness in which they had been enveloped for ages.—Thus illuminated, the human intellect began to feel and realize its power—refused to be confined within its previous limits—soared into a higher and nobler sphere—carried, in the face of all opposition, its philosophical researches into every department of science with daring flight and amazing success.* In less than a hundred years after the first printed book made its appearance, Copernicus gave a work to the world, entitled *De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus*, in which he laid down the true theory of planetary motion, as it had been laid down by Pythagoras two thousand years before. If the Pythagorean doctrine however, was understood by any one previously, none had the fortitude and courage to reveal it, until Copernicus appeared in the field of philosophical inquiry, illuminated by the torch of revived science and fortified by the predominant literary habits of the age, because such a doctrine was contrary to the dogmas, decrees and teachings of Rome. Such a man, under such circumstances, could not, and would not, allow his intellect to be shackled by ecclesiastical canons, ordained without any foundation of reason. His giant mind proved more powerful than Romish decretals, or prejudices which had been flourishing in the soil of ignorance for millenaries. The introduction of the Copernican system afforded sufficient proof, that in regard to science, at least, the doctrines of the Papacy were not entirely free from error. Rome had long taught that Science and Revelation were the most deadly enemies. She adhered tenaciously, therefore, to the ancient policy of the "*double doctrine*," revived by the Machiavelian school, which held that it was possible to keep "mankind in perpetual bondage, by enlightening the few and hoodwink-

* Robertson.

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ing the many." But the flood of literary light which burst upon the world at this time, enabled the people to see that it was not necessary "to put out their eyes, that they might better receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope."

The literary labors of Erasmus, who was born in Rotterdam, 1467, aided powerfully in carrying on the work of Reformation. It used to be a common saying among Romanists, "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." And there was more truth than fiction in the proverb. Erasmus was forced, in early life, to assume monastic vows; but it is evident that he was never much in love with the doctrines of Rome, for in his *Stultitiae Laudatio* he handled both the "Pope and his court" very unceremoniously. He was a man of pungent, trenchant wit—caustic sarcasm—profound learning, and extensive research; and he directed all these powers against the corruptions and hypocrisies of Rome, whilst he labored for the advancement of science. It is held by some that his writings contributed "more than those of Luther himself to the progress of the Reformation among men of education and taste." Dr. Robertson, than whom there are few better qualified to express a judgment in the matter, Dr. Robertson says:—"There was hardly an opinion or practice of the Romish Church which Luther endeavored to reform, but what had been previously animadverted upon by Erasmus, and had afforded him subject either of censure or raillery." No one who is at all acquainted with his history can, for a moment, deny that his writings exerted a powerful influence in moulding the public mind, and opening up the way for those mighty changes which took place in religious affairs both in his life and subsequent to his death. "He imagined," says his biographer, "that by training up youth in learning and useful knowledge, those religious improvements would be gradually brought about, which the princes, the prelates, and the divines of his day could not be permitted to admit or tolerate." The writings of this great man were not confined to secular subjects. He published an edition of the

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Greek Testament in 1516; and issued several editions afterwards.

His light was not confined to the continent. He shed his learned lustre upon Britain. He visited England on several occasions, where he enjoyed the favor and won the esteem of such men as Sir Thomas More and Dean Colet. Henry VIII. invited him to revisit England in 1510. As soon as he arrived Dr. Fisher invited him to visit Cambridge, and procured him the appointment of a Greek professorship and a Lecturer in Theology.

It should not be forgotten that the fall of the Eastern Empire under Constantine Palæologus in 1453, was one of the main instrumentalities by which western Europe received the light of letters. Many learned Greeks were under the necessity of seeking an asylum in Italy, where they met with a warm reception, because Dante, Bocaccio and others had already created a taste in the Italians for literature. The Greek "soon became the fashionable" language, and the great facilities which the art of printing afforded for the circulation of their works caused "learned men to vie with each other in giving Greek authors to the world through the medium of Latin translations." In a word, Italy, Germany, France, England, Ireland and Scotland were lit up by a brilliant constellation of learned men who were unable to see any antagonism between Reason or Science and Revelation.

Even in the midst of this secular or profane light the superstition, blasphemy, tyranny and idolatry of Rome appeared in hideous and forbidding deformity. Had it not been for this revived literature many of Rome's most horrid and revolting vices might have continued, for ages, to be dignified by the name of virtues. It is not at all strange to us, that one of the very first things which engaged the attention of a world awakened from its literary slumber of ages, was religion. Alexander the Great, by spreading Grecian civilization over the shores of the Mediterranean, prepared them for receiving the living truths of God's holy word from the lips of Christ and His apostles, during the time of the first Christian revival. As it was ordered in the providence

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of God, that Alexander should prepare the way for the mighty changes which took place then, so it was ordered that Copernicus, Erasmus and others should prepare the way for the great revival of the sixteenth century. Long before Knox thundered in the castle of St. Andrews, or Luther published his ninety-five theses on the church gates at Wittemberg, the popular mind of Scotland and Germany had been enlightened in regard to the absurd dogmas, idolatries, and mummeries of Rome, and convinced of the antichristian and unscriptural character of her fondly-cherished superstitions.*

The invention of the art of printing from movable types about the year 1440, was rendered powerfully subservient, not only to the progress of letters, but also to the cause of the Reformation. The church and the world are under lasting obligations to Faust, Guttenberg, and Coster. There is no other art that has exerted such an influence on matter and mind, letters and religion. Very little could have been accomplished, humanly speaking, if every tract, book and pamphlet had had to be copied by hand. But, by the use of movable types, books were multiplied to any extent that was deemed necessary, or pecuniary means would warrant. The reformers were now enabled to preach to thousands who were never within the sound of their voice; and the living truths of God's Holy Word were scattered over the nations like the russet leaves of autumn. In less than half a century after this useful invention, there were printed no fewer than *eight thousand four hundred and ninety-four* works of various kinds, among the first of which—if not the very first—were the *Psalter*, and the Old and New Testament Scriptures: of these various works, eight thousand three hundred and fifty-three were printed in different places on the continent of Europe, and one hundred and forty-one in England. Besides, there were fifty Italian cities, in the possession of printing presses, from which there was no return.† It is no wonder that the inventors of this art had to endure

* Robertson.

† Hallam.

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furious persecution at the hands of the priests, for it was a death-blow to their corrupt and idolatrous system.

The prevalence of the writings and opinions of Wickliffe, both in Britain and on the Continent, was highly instrumental in accelerating the work of reform. John Wickliffe, who was born in Yorkshire in 1324, has very justly been called "the morning star of the Reformation." As a student he excelled his equals. He was well versed in the nice disputations of the schools. He was unrivaled in his day as a debater. The polished shafts of an invincible logic always left the field of polemicism covered with the vanquished bodies of his opponents. In him truth and liberty always found a stern and uncompromising defender. He was bold and fearless in his denunciations of the vices, corruptions, and perversions of religion that abounded in his day. He denounced the Pope as "ANTICHRIST, the proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers." We cannot indorse all his doctrines; but in the main they were orthodox, as is evident from the fact that his chief "distinguishing tenet" was "the election of grace." In addition to his literary, scholastic, and polemical accomplishments, he was a man of deep and earnest piety. The first English Bible that ever made its appearance was that translated by Wickliffe in 1360, of which there are several manuscript copies in different public libraries at the present time. He wrote many religious works, which were so obnoxious to the Papacy that they were reduced to ashes at Oxford in 1410—fourteen years after his death. Even the ashes of this great and good man were not permitted to rest in the tomb in peace. By order of the Council of Constance, in 1415, his bones were exhumed; and after being reduced to dust by fire, were thrown into the river of Lutterworth. But—

> "The Avon to the Severn runs,
> The Severn to the sea;
> And Wickliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
> Wide as the waters be."

His writings exerted a most powerful and salutary influ-

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ence in moulding the minds of many, in different countries, after a gospel model, and preparing them for receiving the blessed light of the Reformation-day. To his writings, under God, both John Huss and Jerome of Prague owe their conversion to Christianity. His opinions were gladly and cordially embraced and cherished by the remnant of the Presbyterian Culdees of Scotland. Those who followed them were opprobriously called Lollards:* and for their condemnation of image worship, relics, and some thirty-two other such heresies, the Lollards (Wickliffites) of Kyle were, at the instigation of the Popish clergy, and principally of Robert Blackater, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned and tried before James IV., in the sixth year of his reign, and twenty-second of his age, A. D. 1494. The Lollards were so ably defended by Adam Reid, that the "greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter." The King and his council pronounced no formal sentence, but dismissed the case after administering a caution, to beware of the new doctrines and not depart from the faith of the Kirk. The Archbishop and his myrmidons were so confounded at the result of the trial, that there was no religious discussion almost for thirty years after this time, until that ingenuous and exemplary youth, Patrick Hamilton, with whom we shall afterwards meet, was raised up to fight the battles of the Lord.†

These circumstances showed that the Lord was preparing old Caledonia for brighter and happier days.

The *Revival* on the Continent contributed much to the furtherance of the Reformation cause in Scotland. The work of Reformation may be said to have commenced in Germany in 1517, when Luther made war against the infamous Tetzel, and the sale of indulgences, and published his immortal propositions. Germany, so to speak, was the birthplace of the Reformation. And as the infant lay, wrapped in swaddling clothes, in its continental cradle, the Lord

* It is supposed by some ecclesiastical historians that Wickliffe derived his first religious impressions from Raynard Lollard.

† Knox's History.

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rocked it with his own hand, and threw around it the arm of his almighty protection, by permitting kings, rulers and emperors to engage in warfare, or their minds to be engrossed with affairs of state. But Martin Luther, the son of a poor miner, or wood-cutter, who was born in Eisleben, A. D., 1483, was made the principal agent in the hand of the Redeemer, in originating and carrying forward the Reformation work. He received much valuable aid from Calvin, Zuingle, Melancthon and others, whose writings had found their way into Scotland as early as the year 1525, and elicited considerable debate among the learned in regard to "the errors and abuses of the church." These writings were so much feared by the clergy that they sought for, and obtained, the passage of a law by Parliament, prohibiting the importation of any books of Luther or his followers and the *rehearsal* of "his heresies or opinions!"* Besides the advantage of consulting the works of the continental reformers, enjoyed by the principal actors in the Reformation in Britain, they had the privilege, also, of *personal* interview either when they visited the Continent, voluntarily, for recreation, or had to flee thither to escape the sword of persecution. As a necessary consequence, they imbibed their spirit—were fired with their holy zeal, and always returned to their native land armed with firmer and higher resolves to do battle for Christ's crown and covenant.

The death of her *Martyrs* contributed much towards the consummation of Scotland's reformation. The declaration of one of the early Christian fathers, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," proved true in this case. Although James Resby was burned in 1422, for having said, "That the Pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowledged for Pope," and Paul Craw was committed to the flames in St. Andrews, in 1431, because he was a follower of Huss and Wickliffe, yet, PATRICK HAMILTON has justly been styled the "proto-martyr" of the Reformation, "inasmuch as he was the first who suffered in that glorious cause, after the standard of the Reformation

* Lorimer.

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had been unfurled by Luther." He was a young man of profound learning, mild and generous disposition, refined and accomplished manners, and unfeigned, heart-felt piety. He was born near the city of Glasgow in 1504. He was descended of noble ancestors, and was nearly related to the royal family. His lineage is traced thus by Lorimer:—His father, Sir Patrick, was an illegitimate son (afterwards legitimated) of the first Lord Hamilton, who received in marriage the Princess Mary, daughter of King James II.; his mother was Catherine Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Albany, second son of the same king. One of his uncles, by the father's side, was James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran, one of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom, and closely allied to the royal family; and he stood in a similar relation, by the mother's side, to John, Duke of Albany, a prince of the blood, who was Regent of the kingdom during the minority of James V.

When Hamilton was only thirteen years of age he received a titular abbacy, and was then esteemed as one that "hated the world and the vanities thereof." He had all the advantages of an early and liberal education. While prosecuting his studies he was made acquainted with the reformed doctrine, a thing by no means palatable to the unprincipled priesthood by whom he was eagerly watched. The University of Wittemberg was then held in high esteem as a seat of learning, and with the desire to escape the rage and persecution of the priests, as well as to make himself better acquainted with the doctrines of the Reformation, young Hamilton repaired to Germany.* Here he was introduced to such men as Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, and Francis

* In our narrative of Hamilton's history we have followed Knox and M'Crie. Dr. Lorimer, of London, differs somewhat in his narrative. He says: "It had always been supposed that he was a student of the University of St. Andrews, but quite recently his name was discovered in a register of the *Magistri Jurati*, of Paris, under the year 1520; and this discovery throws important light upon the way in which he arrived at the knowledge of evangelical truth. There were numerous disciples both of Erasmus and Luther in that great school, at the time of Hamilton's residence there." According to Lorimer, whose work on the Scottish Reformation has been issued in the present year, and who brings to light some

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Lambert. Deeper convictions of the scriptural character of the doctrines of the Reformation were made upon his mind after a short interchange of sentiment with these pious, godly, and devoted men. The last mentioned bears this testimony to his character as a scholar and a divine:—His learning was of no common kind for his years, and his judgment in Divine truth was eminently clear and solid; his object in visiting the university was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth, and I can truly say that I have seldom met with any one who conversed on the word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling.

Young Hamilton felt about this time that he had "the faith of a martyr." Accordingly, being assured in his mind that the voice of providence called him to his native land, and willing to lay down his life for the cause of Christ, if necessity required it, he returned to Scotland in the beginning of 1528, and began immediately to preach the doctrines of the cross. His first congregation assembled in the old family mansion, and consisted of his venerable mother, his brother, Sir James, his sister Catherine, and the domestic servants. We know not what effect his fervid eloquence had upon his aged mother, but a living historian assures us, that his labors in his first congregation were crowned with great success—that "both his brother and sister welcomed the truth, and were honored in after years to suffer much for its sake." He did not limit his labors, however, to the members and servants of his own family. He itinerated through the neighborhood, and soon became the observed of all observers. Wherever he went he denounced the errors and corruptions of the church. His career did not long escape the notice of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the church, and chancellor of Scotland,

documents which have never been published before, Hamilton visited Paris first—returned to Scotland in 1523, and instead of going to reside with the monks of Ferne, took up his abode in the city of St. Andrews, and became "incorporated" as a Master of Arts with the University in the same year—visited Germany in 1527—went to Wittemberg, thence to Marburg, in whose album "his name still stands enrolled," and returned to Scotland after "a six months' residence in evangelical Germany."

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for, with all his high sounding titles, the young *nobleman*, with royal blood coursing in his veins, was likely to prove a formidable antagonist. The case was urgent and admitted of no delay. Hamilton was summoned to appear, immediately, before the Archbishop and a convention of ecclesiastics at St. Andrews. The primate pretended that he desired nothing more than a friendly conference on ecclesiastical subjects. The haughty, insolent, and unfeeling prelate and his assistants had the unblushing hypocrisy to express their approbation, at first, of many of the doctrines and sentiments of the young reformer, and even went so far as to admit that there were many things in the ecclesiastical government that demanded reformation. A friar, named Alexander Campbell, of considerable pretensions to learning, and the medium through which the invitation was extended, privately acquiesced in almost all his doctrines. The Archbishops and inferior clergy were now convinced, that the labors of such a man would prove disastrous to their cause —that either it or he must perish. They chose his death in preference to that of their iniquitous and soul-destroying system. He was arrested in his bed at midnight, and taken before the Cardinal and a convention of the clergy. Friar Campbell, who had secretly admitted the truth of the reformed doctrine, as we have remarked before, stood up and read over the different charges laid in the indictment. He defended himself so nobly that the black friar, in his burning ire, could exclaim nothing but "Heretic!" "Heretic!!" Turning towards the hypocritical friar, Hamilton, with all the blandness of a naturally soft and gentle nature still rendered milder under the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, replied, "Nay, brother, you do not think me a heretic in your heart; in your conscience you know that I am no heretic—the contrary to me thou hast confessed; I appeal thee before the tribunal of Jesus Christ." In reply to the charge that he had denounced soul-masses and prayers for such as suffered in purgatorial pains, he said, "Brother, I have never read in the Scripture of God of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that may purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus,

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which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass, nor dirigie, nor in gold, nor silver, but only by repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Jesus Christ." With such a faith Hamilton had nothing to fear. Upheld and sustained by such a faith he could glory in the flames and laugh his enemies to scorn.

> In this faith,
> And by this faith upheld, the storms of life
> Shall round you rave, unheeded, and your feet
> Shall through the fiery furnace tread unscathed.

It was well for the godly youth that he was buoyed by such a faith, for his fate was sealed—he had only a few hours to live. He was then and there condemned to die, and the sentence was to be carried into execution that very day, lest a rescue might be attempted. "Immediately after dinner," says Knox, "the fire was prepared before the old college, (St. Salvators,) and he led to the place of execution." It was generally believed by his enemies, that he would read his recantation as soon as he came in sight of the pile. But far from it. He marched with firm and unfaltering step to the place of execution. Arrived there, he doffed his gown, coat and *bonnet*, and gave them to a faithful servant, accompanying the gift with the following words: "These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." To a faithful friend and companion who did not desert him even in the time of his greatest extremity, he gave a copy of the New Testament Scriptures. When he was bound to the stake, around which fagots and other combustible materials were built, messengers from the cardinal offered him his life if he would only renounce Christianity. He replied in holy indignation, "I will not deny it for the awe of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus." A train of powder was then set on fire which scorched his left hand and left cheek. After

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three efforts, the pile failed to ignite until a fresh supply of fagots and powder was obtained from the castle. Hamilton from his flame-shroud, in the very agonies of death did not forget his venerable and widowed mother, but, in imitation of his blessed Lord and Master whom he expected to meet in glory ere sun-down, commended her to the tender care and affectionate regard of his intimate and endeared friends. The last words which this heroic martyr was heard to utter, were: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit; how long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?"

Thus perished Patrick Hamilton, on the last day of February, 1528, when he was only in the 24th year of his age! who, by his undaunted courage and unwavering attachment to reformation principles, "achieved for himself a renown which no ancestral descent could have conferred upon him."

When Hugh Latimer beheld the fagots being kindled around him at Oxford, on the 16th of October, 1555, he turned to Ridley his companion in martyrdom, and exclaimed with stentorian, but prophetic voice, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust, shall never be put out." The prophecy has been verified so far. The candle has not been extinguished. It has been so in the case of Patrick Hamilton. His candle still burns brightly in Scotland. The flame-shroud in which he went to glory, so far from engendering fear and dread, kindled "in a thousand souls the holy fire of self-sacrificing zeal" became "the torch of truth to a whole land," and is now the admiration of Christendom. His cruel and cold-blooded martyrdom produced the most profound and thrilling sensation throughout the realm, and contributed in no small degree to the advancement of the Reformation cause. The question was everywhere asked, Why was Patrick Hamilton martyred? The people could not divine why such a noble youth was so foully murdered; and began to inquire into the nature of the doctrines for which he suffered. The consequence was, that their minds became enlightened, and they were soon brought to profess their faith in refor-

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mation principles. Many, both of the black friars and gray friars, began, shortly after, to preach the pure "evangel" and to denounce, in unmeasured terms, "the pride and idle life of bishops." Thus God made the very wrath of man to praise him and redound to His glory! So great was the effect and so disastrous the consequences of Hamilton's martyrdom, that when the Cardinal proposed, shortly afterwards, to burn some who had been found guilty of heresy, John Lindsay, an intimate acquaintance of Beaton's and far famed for his jocularity, sarcastically remarked, "My Lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy yourselves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon."

The next martyr to whom we refer is GEORGE WISHART. Many events of great national importance had transpired in Scotland since the death of Patrick Hamilton, a few of which it may be necessary to mention, for the guidance and information of the historical tyro. The Bishops had prohibited, in 1532, "the sale, possession, and use" of the Scriptures in the English or Scotch translation. Their "edict," says Lorimer, "has not been recorded by any of our historians,"* but there is sufficient proof of it having been issued, to be found, both in Knox's history, and a pamphlet published in Germany, in 1533, by a Scotchman named Alexander Alesius, and entitled, "*Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia quod prohibet legere novi testamenti libros lingua vernacula*;" and in another epistle written in reply by John Cochlæus, of Germany, and entitled, "*An Expediat laicis legere Novi Testamenti libros in lingua vernacula. Disputatio inter Alexandrum Alesium Scotum et Johannem Cochlæum Germanum.*" *Anno Domini* MDXXXIII. Henry VIII., had declared war against Scotland on account of the failure of James V. to meet him, as agreed upon, at York. James had died of a broken heart, Dec. 13th, 1542, in the thirtieth year of his age, and one

* Lorimer is slightly mistaken as Knox has recorded an extract of it in his account of the contemplated parliamentary proceedings of 1543.

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week after the birth of his daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, at Linlithgow. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, had, on account of his nearness to the crown and his friendliness to the reformation cause, been, through the election of the nobility, raised to the regency. David Beaton had succeeded, on the death of his uncle James, in 1539, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. But with all these, and many other changes, which our space forbids us to mention, the rage of persecution was unchanged and unabated. David Beaton "made the years 1539 and 1540 the darkest in the persecuting annals of the Papal Church of Scotland," and George Wishart fell a victim to the *auto de fe* of this inhuman tyrant.

It is not known, for certainty, when or where this distinguished minister and martyr was born. It is conjectured, however, that he was born in Kincardineshire, in the same year as James V.—1512. His father was a Scottish law Lord. He was one of the best Greek Scholars of his day, and from this circumstance it is supposed that he received his education at Aberdeen, as that was the only place, in those days, in which the Greek language was taught. Some time after he left the university he taught Greek in a grammar school at Montrose. For this high crime he was exiled from Scotland in 1538, as the teaching of Greek, and especially the Greek Testament, was accounted by the bishops, in those days, an unmitigated heresy. Wishart repaired to England where he followed the profession of a public lecturer and preacher. In 1540 he paid a visit to the churches in Switzerland. Whilst he remained there he made the Frst Helvetic Confession the subject of his unremitting study. He returned to England in 1542, and entered Cambridge in the twofold capacity of a student and a teacher. In the year following, two commissioners, Sir James Learmont and Mr Henry Balnaves, from the Scottish Parliament, appeared at the English court to negotiate a marriage between Edward VI., the hopeful son of Henry VIII., and the beautiful young princess, Mary Queen of Scots. These commissioners returned to Scotland in1544, and Wishart embraced the favorable opportunity of revisiting his native land. On his

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return he found much to dishearten and alarm. David Beaton was still persecutingthe "verity of Christ" with unabated rage and unmitigated rancour. Arran, the regent, had violated the oath he had taken to maintain "the contract and league with England, and abjured Christ's Holy Evangel."

Amidst all these discouragements, Wishart repaired to Montrose, whence he had been expelled, previously, for the unpardonable sin of teaching Greek, and began to preach the Gospel of Christ. After preaching for a time in Montrose, he found his way to Dundee, "the Geneva of Scotland." At Dundee, his labors were crowned with the most marked success. When he had labored for a while in Dundee he itinerated westward and preached with great acceptance in the Kyle district—in Ayr and Mauchline. He was prohibited by the sheriff from entering the parish church at Mauchline and withdrew to the fields followed by a large congregation, to which he preached in the *open air*. Having heard that the plague had broke out at Dundee, and was committing frightful ravages, he returned thither. He continued his peregrinations from place to place—preaching with a power hitherto unparalleled in the annals of Scottish pulpit oratory—having evaded the dagger of a ruthless priest who had been bribed by the Cardinal, at Dundee, and delivered from a foul conspiracy at Montrose. During the latter part of his life he was accompanied on his evangelical tours by John Knox, of whom he took a last and "affectionate" farewell at Haddington in the beginning of 1546. Having predicted his cruel death, Knox was anxious to accompany him, but Wishart positively refused, and said, "Nay! return to your children (meaning God's people,) and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice." He then walked on foot to Ormiston accompanied by some of his friends. After his arrival, and when he had partaken of some refreshment, he requested his company to unite with him in singing the 51st Psalm, in Scottish metre, viz.:

Have mercy on me now, good Lord,
After thy great mercy, &c.

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He was then shown to his chamber, and retired to bed uttering these words: "God grant quiet rest!" Before midnight the house in which he stopped was invested with cavalry, and his body was demanded to be surrendered in the name of the Queen. He was hurried from place to place, until at last we find him in the Sea-Tower of the Castle of St. Andrews in the latter end of January, 1546. The crisis was now hastening. The Cardinal was thirsting for his blood like an insatiable vampire. Delay was impossible. Wishart must die, and die soon. Accordingly, Beaton summoned all the bishops and clergy of distinction to be present at St. Andrews on the 27th day of February following, and the Inquisitorial tribunal was erected on the 28th. Wishart received a mock trial, and was condemned to be burned at the stake. The sentence was carried into execution on the 1st day of March, 1546. When he arrived at the pile he repeated these words three times: "O, thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When the flames were burning fiercely around him, he looked towards the castle, at one of the windows of which the Cardinal was standing regaling his eyes with the horrid sight, and said: "He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leaneth there in pride." The prophecy was fulfilled: the blood-thirsty Cardinal was assassinated in his own chamber on the morning of the 29th of May following. His piteous cry, "I am a priest! I am a priest! ye will not slay me?" did not save him from the hands of an enraged and justly incensed people, who were determined to revenge the death of the benevolent, heroic, and devoted George Wishart.

No writer, that we know of, has vindicated the atrocious act. And no one who studies Wishart's character can entertain the notion for a moment that he had entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the primate. His whole life and conduct are a sufficient refutation of such a slander. Even amid all the excitement of those days, good men did not

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approve of the deed. Sir David Lindsay, a Scottish poet whose bitter sarcasm contributed very much to the destruction of the Romish power, (for "the poet and painter, the scholar and the dramatist, all played a distinguished part in the great struggle of the Reformation,") has shown, in the following couplet, the light in which men of sound and enlightened judgment viewed the atrocious act:

> As for the Cardinal, I grant
> He was the man we weel could want,
> And we'll forget him soon;
> And yet I think, the sooth to say,
> Although the *loon* is weel away,
> The deed was foully done.

The death of George Wishart—a man of unbounded benevolence and unquestioned piety—"one of the truest evangelists, and holiest confessors of Christ that the Church of Scotland ever produced," was everywhere lamented. The people made sad and mournful complaint of the "innocent lamb's slaughter," and feared not to express their righteous abhorrence and utter detestation, not only of the inhuman act itself, but also, of the iniquitous system that dictated the perpetration of the murder. They came to the conclusion that a religion which required the shedding of innocent blood was unworthy the credence of rational and intelligent men. Just indignation filled every humane and godly heart, and men both of high and low degree had this conviction produced in their minds; either we must put an end to the life of the fiendish Cardinal or suffer ourselves to be foully and unrelentingly butchered. They chose the former, as we have already seen. That the death of Beaton—of which the martyrdom of Wishart was the immediate cause, but, so far at least, as the martyr was concerned, the *innocent* occasion, was of great advantage to the cause of the Reformation, cannot be denied. But, we will not pretend to say how far the benefit was counteracted by the circumstances with which it was followed. Certainly the cause of evangelism did not find any better friend in the person of Beaton's successor; for John Hamilton, brother of the regent, who was

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then elevated to the archiëpiscopal see was a man of the most profane and dissolute manners, as well as a bloody and relentless persecutor. But the death of Wishart was of unspeakable benefit. The people were led to inquire into the nature of the doctrines for which the reformer was condemned, and, after a full and impartial investigation, the conviction was forced upon their minds that a belief in them was not a capital nor a treasonable offence!

The papal cause had only to inflict another blow to secure its utter destruction, and this blow was reserved for an old man in the last stage of decay. WALTER MILL, or MILN, was the last martyr that suffered in "this cause." He was summoned to St. Andrews by Archbishop Hamilton, when he was so decrepid that he could not ascend the pulpit stairs unaided, and there was some doubt as to whether he would be able to respond to the queries put to him. But the Lord imparted youthful vigor, and he defended himself with much power. He was condemned to be burnt. When he was ordered to go to the stake, he said, "I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hands; for I am forbidden by the law of God to put hands on myself." "When tied to the stake, his voice trembling with age," says M'Crie, he gave utterance to the following words:—"I am fourscore years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." Thus spake the aged priest as he expired in persecution's furious flames on the 28th day of August, 1558. To the honor of the magistrates of St Andrews be it spoken, that every one of them refused to "ratify" his death warrant. The people, too, were so horrified and disgusted that not a citizen could be induced either to sell or loan as much cord as would bind him to the stake, "so that the archbishop had to furnish them a cord from his own pavilion." A cairn was erected by the citizens of the town to mark the place of his martyrdom. The clergy caused the monument to be removed two or three times, and poured out the most fearful denunciations upon the heads of those who would dare to replace it. But

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Rome's cursing had now lost its power. Regardless of her blasphemous anathemas the heap was replaced, on every instance of its removal, by the dawn of the following morning. The people were now fired with a new zeal, images were everywhere reduced to ashes, and the Romish establishment was on the very eve of dissolution.

The printing of the English Bible and the passage of a law by the Scottish Parliament which guaranteed the free use of the Scriptures to the people, contributed much to the consummation of the reformed cause Popery can never withstand the influence of an untrammeled Bible, its hosts melt like snow beneath its pure and holy glance. The first English Bible that ever appeared in print was that of Tyndale and Coverdale, printed on the Continent in the year 1526. Bishop Tonsal and Sir Thomas More bought up all the copies of the edition which they could obtain, and committed them to the flames. Notwithstanding, many copies of Tyndale's Testament found their way into Scotland. "Fire-like, it kindled a blaze of religious fervor in the breasts of many, and hammer-like, it smote with crushing blows the errors and corruptions of the church." About the same time, says Knox, Henry VIII. abolished from his realm the name and authority of the Pope of Rome and commanded the Bible to be read in English—the command involved the abolition, for the Pope and the Bible could never live side by side. So much did that fickle and selfish monarch favor the circulation and reading of the Scriptures about this time, that John Rogers, under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews, dedicated a Bible to him in 1537.

The bishops, however, as we have said before, issued a decree, in 1532, prohibiting the sale, use and possession of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. This prohibition was set aside by the three Estates in the spring of 1543. Everything at this juncture seemed to favor the cause of the Reformation. James V., who would have done better had it not been for the influence which the arch-impostor Beaton wielded over him, died the year before. The Earl of

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Arran was elevated to the regency, and had thrown the Archbishop into prison. Two orthodox preachers, Thomas Guilliam and John Rough, were advocating the "verity of Christ" in Holyrood Palace. The prisoners of Solway-Moss had returned from their captivity in England, sadly tainted with English "heresies:" and the counsellors of the regent were generally in favor of a reform in the church. Such were the auspicious circumstances under which the Parliament of 1543 assembled. Although matters of great political moment took precedence, this has, nevertheless, been justly styled the Reforming Parliament. One of the chief objects of its convocation was, to take into consideration certain propositions of Henry VIII., in regard to a contemplated marriage between his son, Edward Prince of Wales, and Mary Queen of Scots. As soon as the Parliament had despatched the business relating to matters of state, its attention was taken up with those things which concerned the church. Lord Robert Maxwell, who had resided in England since his capture at Solway-Moss, was very favorably inclined to the Reformation cause. He stood "foremost among the champions of religious liberty" in the Parliament of 1543; and, in accordance with a petition presented to that august assembly by the commissioners of burghs and some of the principal men among the nobility, moved, "that it should be lawful to every man to use the benefit of the translation, which then they had of the Old and New Testament, together with the benefit of other treatises, containing wholesome doctrine, until such time as the prelates, and other churchmen, should give and set forth unto them a translation more correct." The regent signed the bill immediately, and now, by parliamentary action, "it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their own vulgar tongue, and so were all acts made to the contrary abolished."

Of course, the clergy foamed and chafed, for "this was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity." But Scotland is safe—her redemption is at hand—the Bible is unclasped.

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In order that the law might not lie like a dead letter on the statute book, at the market cross of Edinburgh, on the 19th of March, 1543, the Governor issued a proclamation, in which he recited the provisions of the act, and ordered it to be made known throughout the nation. In addition to this, he sent to England for a large supply of English Bibles. And, in a short time, "might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table." Certainly, the day of the Reformation was not very far distant then.

The RULERS contributed much to its establishment. Very few, if any, of the rulers were deeply imbued with religious sentiments about the time of the Reformation. But the Lord over-ruled their protocols, rescripts, wars, dissensions and *ultimata* for the furtherance of his cause. The disagreement which arose between pope Clement VII. and Henry VIII., in regard to the legality of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, contributed no little to the success of Protestantism. After Henry had been married to Catherine about eighteen years, he conceived a strong passion for one of the maids of honor, then attending the queen, whose name was Anne Boleyn. But a divorce must first be had before he could marry the charmingly beautiful and accomplished Anne Clement VII. refused to dissolve the bull of Julius II. which had given a dispensation for the marriage, and, in consequence, the ties which bound the unstable monarch to Rome were rent in sunder. He then threw his royal influence in favor of the Reformation, and earnestly entreated his nephew, James V. of Scotland, to beware of the dangerously increasing power of the Papacy

The *Invasion* of Scotland by England, under Somerset, was made subservient to the Reformation cause. In 1547 a temporary triumph had been gained by the popish party, in the fall of the Castle of St. Andrews, which greatly disheartened the friends of reform. Henry VIII. had died a few months previous; his son Edward VI., "of blessed memory," had acceded to the throne in the ninth year of his age; Mary Queen of Scots was only five years old; and John Knox was sent to France as a prisoner and confined to

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the galleys as a slave! Things looked very dark indeed. But light soon dawned. Henry had appointed sixteen persons to execute his last will and testament, and placed the Duke of Somerset, as Protector, at their head. The regent declared war against Scotland with the view of removing the difficulties which France and the Cardinal had thrown in the way of the contemplated marriage between Edward and Mary. In the famous battle of Pinkie, which followed the Lord Protector's declaration, there perished not less than fifteen thousand Scotchmen. The disheartened reformers were now animated with fresh hope, and entered upon their work with renewed vigor, when they saw that they had a powerful nation on their side, which would not allow their opponents to slaughter them with impunity. Besides, the French who had been invited to expel the English invaders had butchered, so inhumanly, some of the most distinguished citizens of Edinburgh, that Scotland learned she had more to fear from her allies than from her enemies.

The *Accession* of Edward VI. in the year 1547, was of unspeakable advantage to the Reformation cause. It may be asked, What could a youth like Edward accomplish when he was only nine years of age at the time of his accession to the throne, and died seven years afterwards? A single anecdote which is related of this pious and exemplary young prince will furnish a satisfactory answer to this question. Upon one occasion, when he was in his library, "being desirous to reach a book on a high shelf, he was offered a large Bible as a footstool. But he refused the offer, with strong expressions of disapprobation towards the attendant who had made it." During his reign, a law was enacted permitting priests to marry; auricular confession was left optional with the people; the doctrine of the "real presence," together with "all the principal opinions and practices of the Catholic religion, contrary to what the Scripture authorizes, were abolished."

The *Intolerance* of "Bloody Mary," the successor of Edward, and daughter of Henry by Catherine of Arragon, was overruled for good. She was a furious bigot and adhered

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strongly to the superstitions of Rome. She erased from the statute book every law enacted by her predecessors, that granted the least favor to the evangelical religion. Her intolerant and persecuting spirit drove many protestant teachers into Scotland and other places, where they promulgated the principles of the Reformation.

The *Treachery* of Henry the Second, King of France, filled the Scotch nation with dissatisfaction and dread, and thus contributed in a high degree to the advancement of evangelism in the land of the ancient Picts. For the purpose of conciliating the Scotch, who were considerably exasperated on account of a war between France and Philip of Spain, consort of the intolerant English queen, having brought Mary of Guise, the present regent of Scotland Arran having resigned through her intrigues, into hostile collision with Mary of England, the King of France sent a "memorial" to the Scottish parliament soliciting that commissioners might be appointed to visit Paris and give validity by their presence to the approaching nuptials between the Dauphin—his eldest son—and Mary Queen of Scots. The invitation was accepted; and parliament appointed eight commissioners to proceed to France in accordance with the prayer of the memorial. When they arrived at the French court they were received with great cordiality, and every proposition which they made had bestowed upon it, apparently, the most distinguished consideration. The marriage was celebrated with a pomp and gorgeousness hitherto unparallelled, on the 24th of April, 1558. But before they left the palace they learned that the house of Guise had been acting treacherously: and that the young queen had, under great inducements, conveyed the crown of Scotland to the king of the French, in the event of their being "no issue from her marriage" with Francis. The commissioners left in disgust. Four of them died on their way home; and there was a strong suspicion that they had been poisoned by some of the court favorites. Knox humorously remarks, that they lost their lives either "by an Italian posset, or French figs, or by the pottage of their apothecary." All Scotland was

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thrown into a state of alarm and dread, and she became fully convinced that France was her most dangerous foe.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England on the 7th of November, 1558, kindled new hope in every reformer's heart. "Good queen Bess" threw all her royal influence in favor of the reformed cause, as soon as she assumed the reins of power, and was enabled to carry into execution what existed previously, only in the purpose of her heart. Under her royal counsel, law after law was enacted in favor of reform, until, finally, religion was established in England almost as it now exists.

Elizabeth did not confine her efforts to England. She aided, very materially, the reformers in Scotland in their last—their final struggle for civil and religious liberty, by furnishing both money and troops. Without the aid of Elizabeth the Lords ot the Congregation could not have resisted, successfully, the combined arms of the queen regent and the king of France. But with her assistance the reformers soon brought the popish party to terms, and the troops of France and England retired from Scotland according to the provisions of a treaty, but not until monasteries, Cathedrals and other ecclesiastical buildings at Perth, Scone, St. Andrews, Linlithgow, Edinburgh and other places had been utterly demolished, and Leith had been besieged.

By the death of Mary of Lorraine, which took place on the 9th of June, 1560, a powerful barrier to the progress of the Reformation was removed. One week after her death the French commissioners arrived in Edinburgh clothed with power to negotiate a treaty of peace, to which we have referred above. These were soon followed by similar commissioners from Elizabeth. On the 7th of July the negotiations were concluded; on the 16th the French troops embarked at Leith, and the regiments of Elizabeth took up their march for England.

As might be expected, Mary was devotedly attached to her own house of Guise, and labored to compromise the independence of Scotland, as well as to destroy the Reformation cause. She gave many promises, it is true, from time to

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time, when it best served her purpose to do so, but with wanton perfidy she violated them all. Scotland was happily rid of a regent who practiced such duplicity, and had succeeded by her intrigue in conveying her adopted country to the French monarch, by having the crown-matrimonial conferred on her son-in-law, Francis II.

The great instrumentality was the *Preached Word*, accompanied by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. And JOHN KNOX did more than any other preacher for the advancement of the Reformation. Our space forbids us entering into a lengthened account of his connection with the great revival of the sixteenth century, and the part he played in the matters referred to above. A mere outline must suffice. The Immortal Reformer was born at Gifford near Haddington in the year 1505. He was educated for the Romish Church, and had even taken priestly orders. After the assassination of Beaton he retired to the castle of St. Andrews for safety. When the castle surrendered he was sent to France. In 1549 he visited England and remained there until after the death of Edward VI. The intolerance of Mary drove him to Geneva where he remained until he received a call from a congregation of English refugees at Frankfort to become their pastor. Circumstances arose which rendered it imperative for him to leave Frankfort, and he returned to Geneva, "and from thence to Dieppe, and thereafter to Scotland" where he arrived in 1555. He continued to prosecute his ministerial labors in his native land until he received a call from his former congregation at Geneva and returned to the Continent in 1556.

It was not long, however, after Knox's departure, until the Lords of the Congregation wrote him a pressing letter to return, as his counsel and labors were essential, in their estimation, to the triumphant success of their cause. After various delays, Knox landed at Leith on the 2d day of May, 1559. After stopping "two nights" in Edinburgh, he repaired to Dundee, and from thence hastened to Perth, (St. Johnston,) where the reformers were concentrating their forces. Here he preached a sermon on the idolatries of

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Rome, which raised the people to the highest pitch of enthusiasm in behalf of the "new religion." Immediately after the sermon, "a certain priest in contempt would go to the mass;" a young boy, who was standing by, exclaimed, "This is intolerable!" and the priest struck him a blow. In resentment of the indignity, the boy hurled a stone at the priests' head, missing which, it "hit the tabernacle, and brake an image." The populace favored the boy, and in a short time there was a general tumult. Hence followed that wholesale demolition and the siege of Leith, to which we have referred above, that led to the "treaty of peace" and the evacuation of Scotland by the French and English troops. The preaching of Knox, accompanied by the demonstration of the Holy Spirit, was the main instrumentality in bringing about this happy state of things.

But Knox was not the only preacher whose ministrations were blessed. Many of the Romish clergy had become converts to the new religion, and assiduously promulgated its hallowed and hallowing doctrines. Thus Rome carried the elements of destruction in her own bosom, and through the preaching of the Gospel and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit a nation might be said to have been born in a day.

But the Reformation must have the sanction of law. Accordingly, a free parliament met on the 1st of August, 1560. The Protestants presented a memorial praying that the antichristian system be entirely abolished, and that purity of worship and discipline be *restored*. In compliance with this memorial, a Confession of Faith which had been drawn up by John Knox, John Winram, John Spotswood, John Willock, John Row, and John Douglas (six John's) was ratified by the Estates on the 17th day of August. On the 24th of the same month, parliament abolished papal supremacy—repealed all laws in favor of Popery—prohibited the celebration of mass under pains and penalties—abolished all laws against the reformed religion—and drew up a coronation oath binding the king to support and defend the reformed faith. Thus Presbyterianism was by law established in Scotland. And the First General Assembly, composed of six ministers and thirty-four lay commissioners,

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met in the city of Edinburgh on the 20th of December, 1560.

The first result was an unclasped and unshackled Bible. Hitherto it had been a sealed book. Chains were rivetted on it, as if it were a slave. In the year 1229 the Council of Toulouse positively prohibited the reading of the Bible by the laity. In the beginning of the 15th century (1400) Pope Alexander III. condemned all translations into the vulgar tongue.

Even in Scotland the Bible had been a prohibited book prior to the Reformation, and many were exiled for no other offence than that of reading the words of eternal life. True, the reforming parliament of 1543 granted the free use of the Scriptures, but its action was rendered nugatory by the vacillation of the regent and the opposition of the clergy. One of the first acts, therefore, of the free parliament, after the establishment of the Reformation, was the unshackling of the word of God by the enactment of a law prohibiting everything that was contrary to the Scriptures. The people were now accorded full liberty to search the pages of Holy Writ that they might be made wise unto salvation. They searched the Scriptures carefully, constantly, and prayerfully. They made them their supreme rule and guide in all things. They renounced and abjured the decrees of councils and the bulls of popes, and acknowledged the binding obligation of the Bible only. Through the truth, Scotland was made free indeed. What a glorious emancipation was the deliverance of the Bible from the iron bondage of Popery!

The next benefit accruing from the Reformation was the unmolested preaching of the Gospel. There can never be a healthy state of religion where there is no living voice in the pulpit. It hath pleased God through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Before the establishment of the Reformation, it was at the peril of men's lives if they preached the word, as the martyrdom of Hamilton, Wishart and others, abundantly corroborates. Now it can be preached on the mountain top or in the low lying valley,

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in the splendid cathedral or in the most humble chapel, without molestation or annoyance. The great distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation was justification by faith alone in the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and it is upon this doctrine that the whole fabric of our glorious Protestantism, or Presbyterianism, rests. Take it away and you subject men, again, to the bondage of Rome. Justification by faith is not Lutheranism, nor Calvinism, nor Knoxism—it is Bibleism and evangelism—and so long as the pulpit is filled with an evangelical ministry, who will, like Knox, Hamilton and Wishart, preach boldly and fearlessly "the verity of Christ," there is no danger of a constitutional republicanism. Let us manifest our high appreciation of this inestimable boon—a preached gospel—by paying all due honor and respect to Christ's servants.

The Reformation exerted a salutary influence upon Literature. In this regard it was both an *effect* and a *cause.* Literature and religion had a reflex influence upon each other. The former had contributed much to the resuscitation of the latter; and the latter, in return imparts health and vigor to the former. Revived letters would soon have relapsed into their previous lethargy had it not been for the vivifying influences which the Reformation imparted. It secured to Scotland a liberal education for her children. Knox saw full well that the pure doctrines of Christianity could not be maintained in the midst of abounding ignorance. He looked upon education as of the utmost importance to the successful propagation of the gospel and bestowed upon it much care and attention. In the "Book of Discipline," which was drawn up with his own pen, there is one whole chapter devoted to schools, colleges and universities. "Of necessitie therefore we judge it," says the reformer, "that every several kirk have one schoolmaister appointed." This idea Knox learned from Calvin, at Geneva, for he was "the father of popular education, and the inventor of the system of free schools." Our common school systen—one of the best in the world—is not an American invention; we have derived it from the parochial scheme established by Knox at the

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very commencement of the Reformation, than which there has not been a better invented since. Literature and science have made greater progress since the Reformation than they had for fifteen centuries before. Shortly after its consummation the literary hemisphere was lit up by as brilliant a galaxy of learned men as the world has ever seen. And wherever you find Scotch Presbytery, there you find a people educated, at least, in the grand and sublime doctrines of Christianity.

It secured the blessing of Liberty. A truly religious people will always be a free people. They cannot believe in the right divine of kings to govern wrong; nor in the right of one man or a few men to establish or abolish laws at pleasure. The reformers exploded this doctrine in the Church first and then in the State. They evolved the great principle which underlies all sound government—the right of the people to govern themselves, in subordination to the laws of God, from whom they derive all power. The genius of popery makes war upon this principle and adheres to the doctrine that one man has a right to govern all. The reformers, however, sapped the foundations of civil and religious tyranny, and delivered the nations from a degrading servitude. Wherever they went they breathed nothing but sentiments of liberty. American republicanism is Culdee presbyterianism in another form—its foundation is Presbytery. James VI. of Scotland was not far astray when he said, "Presbytery is only fit for a nation of republicans." Liberty—independence—the right of private judgment—the free exercise of thought and discussion and a horrid dread of the intrusion of tyrants and despots, are the inseparable concomitants of Scotch Presbytery wherever it is found.

Ireland has suffered much owing to her connection with Popery. She gets credit but seldom for her virtues and achievements. And yet Presbyterian Ulster has left her impress, directly or indirectly, on many lands. American "gaols and penitentaries" are not "filled', with her *Presbyterian* population. On the contrary, it has done much for the welfare and glory of this nation. The Rev. Francis

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M'Kemie, a native of the North of Ireland, was the first minister that ever preached Presbyterianism in these United States. James Logan, from County Armagh, bequeathed to Philadelphia one of "the first public libraries she ever possessed."* It is said that the Ulster Scots, inspired with the love of liberty which their forefathers manifested at Bannockburn and Drumclog, Derry and the Boyne, furnished men for the volunteer companies of Pennsylvania in '76, in the proportion of five-sixths of the whole. "The Irish House of Commons, exclusively Protestant, refused to vote any aid for the (revolutionary) war." "General Jackson," one of the best Presidents that ever held the helm of American affairs, "was born somewhere between Carrickfergus and the shores of the United States." John Dunlop, a native of Strabane, "issued the first *daily* paper published in America."

From whom did the first Declaration of Independence issue in this country? From Irish Presbyterians. Bancroft is good authority on this subject. He says: "The first public voice in America for disolving all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." It is recorded in the archives and annals of the nation; and, though some may be slow to acknowledge it, it cannot be denied. The inhabitants of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, who were of Irish-Scotch descent, issued the first Declaration of Independence that ever was made in this country. They "brought to the new world," says Bancroft, "the creed, the spirit of resistance, and the courage of the Covenanters." In March, 1851, says Putnam, the Legislature of North Carolina affirmed that the celebrated Mecklenburg Declaration was published in June, 1775—and that large portions

* Most of these facts are taken from a work published by De Witt and Davenport, New York, in 1855, and entitled Irish Protestant Letters. *So far* as the writer has been able to collate them with the National Archives, and the different United States histories, they have been found correct. They have also been corroborated by private correspondence.

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of it were embodied in Jefferson's Declaration of the following year. The block of marble which Carolina furnished for the Washington Monument bears this inscription —"North Carolina Declaration of Independence, Mecklenburg, May 20, 1775." Charles Thompson, a native of Maghera, who was elected Secretary, as we learn from the National Archives as well as the authority quoted above, of the first *Continental Congress*, which met in Philadelphia in 1774, and held the office for about fifteen years, transcribed Jefferson's original draft with his own hand; and John Dunlop, referred to above, was the "first" newspaper proprietor who gave it publication. It is universally admitted that there is a striking resemblance, both in sentiment and phraseology, between the Mecklenburgian and Jeffersonian declaration, and both seem to have a common paternity in the Covenants of Scotland.

Irish-Scotch Presbyterianism has not only given to these United States a model after which to construct their government, but bestowed upon them, also, great and unspeakable advantages. It has an interest in the national prosperity. It has laid the foundations of the national existence. It has not lost the spirit which it manifested at Mecklenburg, as traitors will soon learn if they should attempt to betray their country.

The Reformation was not the "birth" of Protestantism. It was not the invention of new, but the revival of old doctrines. It was not the creation of new, but the *resurrection* of old truths—even truths which had lain buried for centuries beneath the rubbish and mummery of popery. Popery had scarcely an existence before the sitting of the Council of Trent in 1545; but Presbytery is as old as the days of the apostles. The Presbyterianism of Knox was only a revival of the system which had been maintained by Columba and his followers. The Reformation in Scotland was an exhumation of the Culdee witnesses—the birth of a *Re*-formed Presbyterian Church.

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Article II.—Thoughts on Intercommunion.

Every sincere follower of Christ honors his Master and desires to obey him. He aims to do whatsoever his Lord has commanded him. As the servant of Christ he delights to do His will, for His commands are not grievous. These commands relate to all duty—to the believer's duty to God directly—to his fellow beings in all the relations of social and civil life—and to his connection with the cause of Christ in the *church* of God in our world. Among the duties of the Christian, in the Church, is a regard to ordinances divinely appointed; and among these is an ordinance intended to keep professing Christians *in remembrance* of their Master. In establishing this ordinance, He said:—"This do in remembrance of me."

A profession of faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to Him is made in the ordinance of baptism. Men are not to be admitted to the privilege of membership in the Church without satisfying the officers of the Church that their views are Scriptural. Continuing to hold these views, and to adorn them by a consistent practice, they have a right to all the privileges and enjoyments of members of the Church; and among these the partaking of the Supper of the Lord. Every society must have some system of laws for preserving its peace and good order, and for accomplishing the objects for which it has been established. In the church, the comfort and growth of the members are not only promoted by partaking of the Lord's Supper, but the purity of the whole body is to be preserved by excluding from it all who seriously depart from soundness of doctrine or consistency of practice.

It would be a happy thing for the Church on earth if all her members were joined together in one mind and one

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judgment respecting the doctrines, discipline, and worship required by the command of her Lord; and it is greatly to be regretted that this is not the case. Ministers and members of churches have widely different views of the doctrines which ought to be preached and believed; and just as widely different views about the nature, design, and use of the ordinances of the Church. A great many doctrines are called scriptural which have very little claim to this character; and many views of the Lord's Supper are popular and widely practiced, from which we feel constrained to differ. Because of this difference of practice we are often misunderstood; hence we propose to call attention to the scriptural character of the practice of restricted communion in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, as opposed to *unlimited*, or *indefinitely limited communion*—commonly called *open* communion, or *catholic communion.*

And here we observe that we have no right to *make* laws on this, or any other subject clearly taught in the word of God. Our concern is simply to *ascertain* the will of the Head of the church and apply it.

We do not consider it necessary here to enter into any discussion about what *ought* to be the state of the church, and the conditions of membership in it in that state; but finding the church in an imperfect and divided condition, we believe there should be an approval of the principles embraced in the profession of any particular church, in so far as they are understood by her members; that these should be embraced under a belief and approval of their scriptural character; and that the preservation of Christian truth and purity of practice requires that no persistent opposition to the principles of that profession should be tolerated in her members; and that the officers of the church are under obligation to apply these principles in the reception of members to the enjoyment of the privileges of the church; and, in the exercise of discipline, by making such departure from them a sufficient cause for excluding members from communion in the Supper of the Lord.

To men who have been accustomed to examine and regard the teachings of the word of God on this subject, the

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practice of certain churches, calling themselves Christian seems strange. The practice of Universalists is thus stated by Matthew Hale Smith: "There meet at the Universalists' table the atheist, the deist, the profane, the gambler, the drinker, and the adulterer. I have seen them all together at one table. I have broken the bread to them all." Of the practice of another congregation he thus speaks:—"At such times"—communion occasions—"the elements are passed to the whole congregation indiscriminately. Boys and girls, taking the bread as it was passed to them, converted it into play-balls." Among some other denominations the ordinance is considered to be merely a social manifestation of regard for the cause of Christ, and the doctrinal views of the communicant a matter of no consequence.

But these things need not surprise any person, when we find ministers of denominations commonly called and considered evangelical, denying that admission to the Lord's Supper has any connection with qualifications for membership, or with the administration of discipline in the church of God.

We have said that men were originally admitted to the church by baptism and profession of their faith in Christ. We have nowhere, in precise words, the profession which they made—but the apostles were to teach *all things which Christ had commanded*—men *professed* obedience to all things which Christ had commanded. What these things were, in their nature and number we have to gather from the Scriptures. While the precise terms of this profession are not recorded, it is quite evident that there must have been some well-known and distinctly-understood system of truth and conduct, to which, as long as a man adhered, he was entitled to the name and privileges of a Christian, and, when he departed seriously from these, he was entitled to neither the one nor the other. Hence the Apostle John wrote of certain men—"They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." 1 John ii. 19.

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There was, in apostolic times, such a thing as heresy—that is, an opinion, or a practice founded on it, subversive of some important principle of scriptural truth. The Apostle Paul very pointedly tells us what the officers of the church are to do with men who hold such opinions. "A man that is a heretic, after a first and second admonition reject."—Titus iii. 10. Evidently there was such a thing as discipline in the church—admonition once and again; and if that course was not effectual, there was such a thing—so well known—so commonly practised that the Apostle does not need to explain it—as rejection;—and that, not rejection from hearing the Gospel preached, not such a thing as forbidding any man to live, in the sight of the world, as holily and as unblamably as he pleased, but a rejection from the society of Christians as such, and the taking away from him the right and privilege of being named and known as a Christian.

How this was done and what it implies we learn from other parts of Scripture. In the first epistle to the Corinthians the apostle mentions such a sin as is not even named among the Gentiles; and this sin was practiced by one of the members of that Church. The Church, instead of exercising discipline on that erring member, rather gloried in him. What does the apostle direct them to do? You have his command in 1. Cor. v. 3–5. "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Here it is plainly implied that there are two kingdoms in this world, the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of Satan. If men hold opinions and follow practices inconsistent with the Scriptures they must be brought under the discipline of the church, admonished, and if they do not abandon their error, they must be dealt with as the apostle commands in

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the passage just referred to; and his judgment is given in the direction of the 13th verse, "Wherefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person."

In accordance with these principles we find commendations of churches that were faithful in the exercise of discipline. Hence the character of the message to the church of Ephesus, Rev. ii. 2–3. "I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them that are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars." Just as this Church is commended because *she cannot bear them that are evil,* and because she tried, rejected and exposed false teachers, so is the Church of Thyatira blamed for the want of faithfulness shown in her course. Rev. ii. 20. "Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezabel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols." The numerous passages in the apostolic writings containing similar principles clearly show that men were excluded from the privileges and name of Christians by being excluded from the Supper of the Lord. Tertullian, who lived in the second century, clearly refers to the understanding of the principles of discipline for which we contend, as the apostolic practice, and as the practice of his day. Speaking of such men as *claimed* to be Christians whilst their conduct did not correspond to their profession, he says —"Such in truth take no part in our religous assemblies—such receive not with us the communion." Thus do we show the scriptural principle and the application of it in exclusion from the Supper of the Lord for error in doctrine and practice.

The truthfulness of the position we have been endeavoring to establish is admitted, in some shape, by every church that pretends to exercise any care over the doctrinal principles and the becoming practice of her members. It is practiced to a greater or less extent by churches in the case of their own members—but, in the Christian intercourse of one church with another church, holding principles and practices

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so distinct that the churches, for some reason, have separate organizations, it is contended that these principles should not apply, and it is altogether unwarrantable to apply them, because it is unscriptural, uncharitable and unchristian!

Let us consider these charges. The church exists on the earth under various organizations, and every organization must be supposed to have its peculiar form for some valid reason. They differ about a great many things, and things of importance. There is no infallible council to which we can refer these questions for decision, and so every man has to form his own opinion and act as his judgment and conscience, under a sense of his responsibility to God, may dictate. For example; under a conviction of truth a man wishes to make a profession of religion, but he finds that he can only be received under a view of the initiatory ordinance which requires him to believe that baptism can be scripturally administered only to persons of adult years; and then can be scripturally administered only by the immersion of the candidate in water. This man has carefully examined that subject, and is perfectly satisfied that this view is unscriptural—that it is contrary to the practice enjoined by the Head of the church, and he cannot assent to the condition without violating his judgment and conscience. What can such a man do but seek a connection somewhere else? and how can he admit the idea that it is right to acknowledge a whole church as scriptural by communing as a member of another church with men whose views of an ordinance, without which, under ordinary circumstances, no man has a right to be called a Christian—compelled him to turn away from her doors? If the claims of a church organization are unscriptural, they must be opposed by a conscientious man, in his refusal to join her membership; and, as long as they remain unchanged he is bound to refrain from the acknowledgment of the scriptural nature of those views necessarily made by communing with that church.

The same principle applies to other points. The peace, purity and efficiency of a church greatly depends on her government and organization for doing the work of her

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Master. These things, in the view of men, are more or less connected with errors, or with tendencies to error. A man may, as a private Christian, have much enjoyment in membership, and may do much for the cause of Christ in certain church organizations—but if far-seeing men examine these systems and find in them claims necessarily required to be acknowledged as scriptural before they can exercise the ministry or employ their talents in these churches to the glory of God, what can they do but take their stand on what they consider scriptural ground, and unite with those who hold views identical with their own? The principle, "*Him that is weak in the faith receive ye,*" will not apply to all men; and while it has its scriptural application and limits, it must be remembered that even those who are thus received are received "that they may grow up unto Him in all things who is the Head." The ministry are set for the defence of the truth, and the whole counsel of God must be delivered; and the whole truth unfolded, and by them enforced, and received by believers according to their ability, and applied by the whole church to the sins that prevail in the world; and whenever men, as individuals, or in their church capacity, require things unscriptural, or become faithless to the cause of truth, there must be an application of the commands of Christ, either by expelling them, or by withdrawing from them, as the case may require. By neglecting to act on these principles, error, superstition and will-worship, always have crept into the church, and, from the nature of the case, ever must creep into it; and our faith must then stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God.

The *maintainance of discipline* to preserve purity of doctrine and practice makes regulated or restricted communion necessary in the present imperfect and divided state of the church. Separate churches exist because of some important difference of doctrine, discipline, worship or practice. They show their views to all men in what we may call their Confessions of Faith. There is just the same need for consistently maintaining these systems that there is for having them at all. Are churches that have these confessions in

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earnest in their profession that they believe them? If so, how can discipline be maintained in any church, with any degree of consistency, if these principles are practically laid aside by inviting to the Supper of the Lord members of churches openly opposed to the known and publicly avowed principles of the church inviting them to commune? A member of a church holding certain principles, takes his seat at the table of the Lord by invitation of the officiating minister, or official authority of a church declaring his principles erroneous. A regular member of the church, extending the invitation, adopts the same principle and is made the subject of discipline for holding them. How can the church so acting inflict censure with any degree of consistency? Every man who knows what justice is must see that the exercise of discipline in such a case is strangely inconsistent with all principles of candor; and the practical result must be to produce the impression that the principles of a Confession of Faith are *merely a profession*, and are not intended to be a practical reality.

But the matter should not stop at this point. If no injury results from practically saying that distinctive principles are not a thing to be maintained by making admission to the Lord's Supper a measure of a disciplinary character for securing soundness of faith and purity of practice, why do churches that commune with one another keep up their distinct organizations? If there is sufficient purity in doctrine, government, discipline and worship to justify intercommunion, *as a common practice*, why do not these organizations give up their principles which they, by their course, practically declare to be only matters of preference, and unite on a common basis, and thus give unity and harmony to the church? Schism is loudly bewailed by the liberal Christian, and sadly deplored by the serious one, but in unrestricted communion distinctive principles and practices are avowedly treated as matters of indifference; and while this is so can there be any consistency between this profession and the continuance of separate organizations?

But while adherence to fixed principles in admitting

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members to the communion of the church only through the approval of the properly constituted officers of the church is considered uncharitable, in reality almost all denominations and sections of the church do have some limitation of the practice. If there is a restriction laid on any professing follower of Christ, the *principle* is the same as ours. The difference betweeen those who limit it, and ourselves lies in the application of it, and, if it is left to men to commune in any church, at any time, just on their own views that they are Christians, the privilege of communion is thrown open to all.

This point is illustrated by the views of Robert Hall. Mr. Hall believed that no man was scripturally baptized unless he had been immersed in adult years, and yet he communed with those who had been baptized in infancy, on the ground that they, having been baptized in infancy, were really not baptized at all, but *believed* that they had been baptized scripturally. In defence of this principle he was logically compelled to take the position that baptism is not, scripturally, a pre-requisite for admission to the Lord's Supper—thus abrogating a prominent ordinance of the Head of the Church. But why did not Mr. Hall carry out his principle to its legitimate consequences? If a man may properly be a member of the church without being baptized in any form, or because he *thinks* he has been properly baptized, why not for the same reason, admit a Unitarian, or a man who is *sincere* in holding any opinion whatever? Evidently, on this principle, a man's sincerity of belief is the ground on which his right to a seat at the Lord's table is based; and this would lead to the right of the advocate of any opinion whatever, sincerely believing his views to be correct, to have his place at a communion table wheresoever he pleased; and this is the unavoidable consequence of the doctrine.

But the practice of the church of Christ in all times shows the benefit and the necessity of carefully guarding the purity of the church, either by excluding errorists from communion while the friends of truth had the power, or by *withdrawing* from them when error holds sway. Did our limits permit,

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it could easily be shown how zealously the friends of truth, in the early days of the church, contended for it by excluding even those who styled themselves orthodox, and who censured these ancient Puritans for their want of regard for the verity of the church. Was there ever approved intercommunion between Trinitarian and Arian? All men competent to answer, say no. The reformers withdrew from a corrupt church. The Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland, as the general practice, refused to commune with the Prelatists of their day. Perhaps men think—we know that many do think—that those are things which belong only to the past. Has the nature of men changed? Have truth and error changed their nature or their influence? The man is blind who thinks so. Has not the Presbyterian Church in this country been twice compelled in the course of a little more than a century to separate into two organizations in order to preserve her purity and efficiency? and on the last occasion was not the Old School under the necessity of cutting off Synods and Presbyteries to preserve the existence of truth and purity; under such circumstances, too, as to cause the exscinded portion of the church still to claim the title of the Constitutional Assembly? These organizations are likely to exist, and when we look at the claims of High Church Episcopacy in our country, every reflecting mind sees that the time has not yet come when visible unity can be secured among the professed followers of Christ; and that there are numerous indications that the truth must be much more widely spread—knowledge still more increased—much more attention given to the causes of separation than has heretofore been given, before men can be brought, with safety to the cause of truth, and with comfort to their spiritual interests, to abandon the course which experience shows to be unnecessary in our sinful world.

We briefly notice a few objections to the practice of limited communion, originating in a want of reflection.

1st. It is claimed that "*The Table is the Lord's,*" and hence the inference is, that man has no right to interfere with any who desire to enjoy its privileges.

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On the same principle, the *church* is the Lord's; and it should be claimed that every man who chooses may enter any church he chooses, behave as he chooses, and be responsible to no authority. The church is the Lord's; the table is also the Lord's; but he has appointed officers and regulations respecting the qualifications of those who desire to enter the church, and he has required that those who take a seat at his table shall be sound in belief and practice, and he commends the faithful discharge of official duty, and censures officers who are negligent.

2d. If we cannot commune on earth, how shall we in heaven?

It may seem strange that such an inquiry should be heard; but the fact, that those who occupy stations as masters in Israel use the objection as an argument, shows how little reflection has been exercised on this subject. The parable of the sower, and other parables of a kindred principle, show that the church on earth is in an imperfect condition. A time is coming when the wheat and the tares shall be separated—the tares burned in the fire, and the wheat gathered into the garner. Until that time shall come provision has been made to hinder the tares from choking the wheat. The mixed and imperfect state of the church shall come to an end. Every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up; and then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of our Father: then there shall be nothing to hurt or annoy in all the Lord's holy mountain.

It is further objected, that this course excommunicates all members of all churches with which we do not commune.

This charge is a very serious one. How is it sustained? Every church that has a profession of principles exercises discipline of some kind over her members—admonition, reproof, suspension, excommunication. From the nature of the case, this discipline can be exercised only over those who acknowledge the authority of any church. No Protestant Church organization can claim the power to exercise discipline over another—none submits to the authority of

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another. Believing, as we do, that certain principles and practices are inconsistent with truth and Christian purity of practice; if these are found in the conduct of our members, they lay that member subject to discipline. Step after step he is dealt with, and only after all milder means have failed —after all regard for the truths he has professed is disregarded, is he excommunicated. It may be necessary to *suspend* a member for doctrinal or practical error without deciding on the point—Is he or is he not a Christian? The only point that the officers of the church need to decide, in the present state of the church, is, the consistency or inconsistency between his principles and his profession.

We should like to know how any church, bringing the principles of her profession to bear on the conduct of her own members when they transgress any of the requirements of duty, can object to her course? If one man is the subject of discipline,—whether admonition, reproof, suspension, or excommunication—is it not right that all holding the same views should be? If an individual is the subject of discipline, why not all the members of any church, if they hold the same views? If, for example, a church believes the holding of unoffending human beings in involuntary or undeserved bondage, and the breeding of human beings for profit to be a sin, which excludes any man guilty of it from her membership, how can that church admit to the Lord's Supper members of other churches tolerating or approving that sin? If this is excommunication, all churches that exercise discipline at all hold it as well as we, and are as liable to the objection.

Instead of excommunicating members of other churches by restricted communion, the members of the churches that most consistently practice it are themselves often cut off from the privilege of membership in other churches by conscientious feelings about some things required as conditions of membership, or the toleration of what appear to be dangerous errors; and it does not become men who pay no regard to such feelings and motives to apply harsh epithets to those who conscienciously differ from them. We cannot walk together because we are not agreed; and under

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these circumstances, we simply say—to our own Master we stand or fall.

The Lord hasten the day when the causes of separation now existing shall receive more consideration and examination; when greater love to brethren shall prevail; when all shall see eye to eye; when there shall be discrimination between matters of *preference* and matters of *principle*; when men shall inquire which of these should rule; until Judah shall no longer vex Ephraim, and Ephraim shall no longer envy Judah.

Art. III.—Tractarianism Traced to its Sources.

Puseyism, which, for more than a quarter of a century, has been attracting public attention, and generously swelling the ranks of the Romish communion, is largely indebted for existence, as we have endeavored to establish in previous articles, to the normal prelacy and ritualism of the English Church. From the days of Henry VIII. until the present hour, that church has evinced a singular proneness to approximate Rome in spirit and outward forms. Toward Popery as its natural centre it has always manifested a gravitating tendency; this centripetal force being, however, checked or counteracted by certain centrifugal tendencies originating either within the church itself, or in the circumstances by which it has been surrounded. And, just as might be expected, the Church of England has had in relation to Rome its aphelion and its perihelion, its times of

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attraction and of repulsion, its seasons of approach and of recession, yet its entire identification with Romanism, and its deliverance from Rome's mystic bond being never complete. It merits notice, however, that those occasions on which the Church of England has verged most closely upon Romanism have been precisely those on which she has been most thoroughly pervaded by a spirit of earnest self-assertions, and a disposition to carry out her prelatic, ritualistic; in a word, churchly principles to their legitimate consequences; while on the other hand, her aversion to Romish alliance has been most apparent in those periods of her history when she has been least enamored of herself, and least inclined to develop with rigorous logic the peculiarities of her ecclesiastical polity. These facts, which may be established by ample evidence, serve to reveal in a very unmistakable manner the genuine spirit of the church of England. In the estimation of the most zealous prelatists, Laud and his confederates were logical and earnest churchmen. Assuredly Laud did not lay too much stress on baptism for instance, if it be true, as the catechism and liturgy of the English Church plainly teach, that by baptism, or in necessary connection with it, the soul is regenerated, and the baptized person made an heir of heaven; nor did the imperious Archbishop unduly magnify his office, if, on the administration of baptism by an accredited minister of the church, such momentous issues depend. Yet this studied consistency on the part of Laud carried him not only to the confines, but even across the borders of Popery. It may be argued, indeed by those who desire to repel the charge which we bring against the English Church of having a secret sympathy with Popery, that Laud directed his attention only to one department of the standards of his church, and that his error arose from the exclusiveness and one-sidedness of his contemplations. Now while we admit readily the obliquity of Laud's vision, and hold that in this respect he was the prototype of modern Puseyism we cannot concede that the egregious errors into which he fell are unsupported by the formularies of the Church of England. Had he considered these broadly and comprehensively he

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must have encountered many statements and directions at variance with his fondly cherished ideas, and might very justly have concluded that the subordinate standards of the church are self-contradictory; but he would have met with nothing sufficient to prove that he was mistaken in his belief that the doctrines of which he was a notable champion, —baptismal regeneration for instance,—are countenanced in the English Service Book. Nor have the most vigorous assailants of Puseyism been able to dislodge the advocates of that system from the catechism, liturgy, or canons of the English Church. They have been able to defeat them with a signal route on the field of Scripture; but never to expel them from the thickets and marshes of the peculiar standards of the church. Within these standards Popish superstition finds broad footing. Within them lies the germ of Romanism, dormant it may be, yet capable of being developed into formidable strength by a favorable conjunction of circumstances. Such a combination presided over the birth and growth of Tractarianism; and pursuing our design of indicating the sources from which that system took its rise, or received its chief impulses, we proceed now to state a third influential element in this productive complication, viz.:—

III. The peculiar relations borne to the State by the English Church.

In the first place, the snnshine of state favor, in which that church basked, was calculated to beget and foster in the bosoms of her members, but especially of her officers, an over-weening self-conceit, and a domineering temper. The church established by law, to which also belonged the aristocracy and the royal family, gradually came to be regarded as "The Church;" those Protestants, who, laboring under the misfortune of a tender conscience, had dissented from her, being contemptously called "The Sects," and viewed as a non-descript kind of fanatics, attempts to win or conciliate whom would be hopeless, and, at all events, unsuitable to the dignity of churchmen. Pampered by the State, embracing in her communion the wealth and fashion

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of the land, her ministry drawn largely from the upper classes, it will not be deemed strange by any one who understands human nature, that the Anglican Church waxed arrogant, and eagerly adopted principles which might be supposed conducive to the maintenance of her pretensions. Even a Presbyterian Church, one the least vitiated with a worldly organization, would, in the circumstances just mentioned, stand in peril of becoming the prey of pride and haughtiness, and of gradually drifting toward Popery; but how vastly greater is the danger of such a result in the case of a church constituted, like that of England, on principles which naturally develop into religious despotism! It would require a great amount of grace to repress lordly assumption and superciliousness in a church prelatic in its constitution, ritualistic in its worship, and generously maintained and fostered by legislative enactments as the national church. The coincidence of these various conditions or influences favored greatly the rise and advance of the sentiments which Puseyism embodies. The impulse, which any one of these conditions gave to the English Church, lay in the same plane with that imparted by the others. The impulse derived from the whole was not the result of such a composition of forces as might be represented by the diagonal of a parallellogram, but of forces singly and conjointly operating in one and the same direction.

But there is another point of view in which it is possible to trace a very close connection between the civil standing of the English Church, and the rise of Puseyism. In order, however, that what we now refer to may be distinctly seen, it becomes necessary to take at least a rapid survey of the nature of political affairs in Great Britain, at the time when Newman, Pusey, and their companions rung the alarm to their less watchful brethren.

For some years prior to the appearance of the Tracts for the Times, the United Kingdom was convulsed with an agitation, the objects of which were the abolition of certain acts of Parliament which pressed heavily on English Dissenters, and the extinction of the civil disabilities under which

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Roman Catholics throughout the kingdom yet labored. The restrictions against which the Dissenters reclaimed, were those embodied in the Test and Corporation Acts, according to which Dissenters, before being confirmed in any public office of emolument or trust, were obliged to partake of the Lord's Supper in the Church of England; a regulation which excluded honest Dissenters only, and involved besides a horrible desecration of a most sacred ordinance. This law gave rise often to scenes of the most disgraceful nature, and had a strong tendency to corrupt the heart of the community and engender infidelity. It would be difficult to say which communion—that of the Dissenters, or that of the Church of England—suffered most from such an outrageous perversion of the Lord's Supper. Sometimes Dissenters elected to office might be seen waiting at a tavern, and endeavoring to spend merrily there the time which must elapse before the congregation would be dismissed from the parish church, when the hour for "qualifying," as it was called, having arrived, they would hasten to the railing before the "altar" to receive the symbolic bread and wine from the hands of the officiating minister. There was, it is true, an Indemnity Act provided, by means of which a Dissenter, on declaring that his failure to qualify arose from ignorance or forgetfullness, could be annually relieved from the consequences of non compliance with the requirements of the Test and Corporation Acts. This, however, was but a sorry relief. In the year 1828 the Liberals in and out of Parliament, embracing English Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and many Episcopalians, united in demanding the repeal of those laws by which the English Dissenters felt aggrieved and injured. It was then adroitly maintained that, however liberally government might deal with the petitioning Dissenters, the question in regard to the Roman Catholic disabilities would remain unaffected; and the Roman Catholics, craftily concealing or dissembling their ulterior designs, vigorously supported the dissenting demand, like good, patient, generous souls, always rejoicing in their neighbors' welfare, though not permitted to share in it. At this time the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, (afterwards Sir Robert

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Peel,) were relied upon by the country as the immovable supporters of the Protestant, and in particular, of the Church of England interests. The Earl of Eldon, however, was the most successful in detecting the covert policy of the abolition movement, or at least the boldest in exposing the insiduous character of the pretence that the Papists lent aid to the Dissenters from pure good-will simply. This struggle issued in the repeal of the offensive enactments, provision being made that instead of being required to qualify for office by partaking of the Lord's Supper at the hands of a minister of the Established Church, Dissenters, on taking office should have to make declaration to the effect that they would not use their official influence to the "detriment of the interests of the Protestant religion as presently established in the realm. Mr. Peel was the author of this substitute for the Test and Corporation Acts.

Scarcely had victory declared on the side of the English Dissenters, when the Roman Catholics, under the guidance chiefly of Daniel O'Connell, an able and unscrupulous demagogue, commenced with unprecedented vigor an agitation for the removal of their civil disabilities. The Dissenters having received assistance from Romanists in procuring the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, felt constrained to repay the kindness by coalescing with Romanists in demanding for them the passage of an Act of Emancipation. In Ireland, the Popish population was thoroughly organized for the attainment of the desired object. Money was freely contributed, and systematically collected for the furtherance of the Popish demand. It was openly announced that a refusal on the part of Parliament to concede the claims of the Roman Catholics would be succeeded by a civil war. So threatening was the aspect of affairs in this respect, that even the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, averse as at that time they certainly were to Romanism, whether considered from the stand-point of the theologian or from that of the statesman, at length succumbed; and aided in carrying through Parliament what is known as the Emancipation Act, by which Roman Catholics were relieved from the

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disabilities of which they complained, and were declared eligible to every civil office—that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as also that of Lord High Chancellor alone being excepted. It may be added that Papists were also excluded from appointments in any of the universities, colleges, or institutions upon Protestant foundations; their exclusion from such offices resting upon the special ground that their religion rendered it preposterous to expect from them the proper discharge of the functions pertaining to said offices. The Emancipation Bill received the royal assent on April 13th, 1829. The University of Oxford had used its influence vigorously against the Bill, and presented to the House of Lords a petition against the concession of the Popish claims, which, in the largest convocations ever assembled in Oxford had been carried by a majority of three to one. A short time before the passage of the Emancipation Bill, Mr. Peel, who then represented in Parliament the University of Oxford, having come to the determination to support, or rather to introduce the Bill, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University announcing the change in his views, admitting that his resistance to the Romish claims had been one main ground on which the University had chosen him as its representative, and tendering his resignation. In this letter, bearing date February 4, 1829, Mr. Peel intimated that he had changed his policy, solely because he believed perseverance in it would be unavailing, and perhaps disastrous to the country, by plunging it into the horrors of civil war. Much to Mr. Peel's chagrin, his resignation was promptly accepted. Mr. Peel vacated his seat, and, although his name was again proposed as a candidate, and a strenuous effort was made by the Government to secure his election, he was signally defeated; Sir Robert Inglis, a man far inferior in talent, being the victorious candidate. It is said that, in this contest, Mr. Newman voted in favor of Sir Robert Inglis, who was pledged to oppose the claims urged by the Papists. One would be readily led to suppose that the Oxford of 1829 could not be so far changed in the course of three or four years as to give forth from her heart those publications which have done such damage to the Protestant cause; yet it was in

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the year 1833 that the Tracts for the Times began to be issued at Oxford. These Tracts struck a chord which vibrated through the length and breadth of England; for they appeared at a time when the friends of the Episcopacy were yet smarting under the reduction of the number of bishops' sees in Ireland; when the Liberals intoxicated, or at least stimulated, by success, were loudly demanding that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge should be thrown equally open to all parties; when the tide of opposition was surging heavily against the buttresses of the English Church; and when in the whirl of excitement the torch of revolution seemed about to be applied to that venerable fabric. A perusal of the earlier Tracts is sufficient to convince any candid inquirer that the writers felt seriously concerned for the Church of England, dreaded still further and bolder assaults upon her, and were anxious to discover and bring into prominence such arguments in her favor as might serve to inspire her friends with confidence, awe into respect her daring assailants, and thus save her from entire destruction. They trembled for what they deemed the ark of God; and awaited in suspense the moment when Parliament, now remodelled, would rudely lay its hand upon the church, stripping her of her emoluments and civil distinction. The very first of these malignant Tracts dolefully adverts to the gloomy prospects of the Established Church, and urges the clergy to prepare for the evil day. The writer, Mr. Newman, appears to regard with greater apprehension the apathy of his brethren in the ministry, than the bold and menacing front presented by the combined hosts of Liberalism. He expostulates with the ministers of the church on their sluggishness in the presence of an active foe; and on the low ideas which they seem to cherish in regard to the true claims of their church. In a time of general prostration and humiliation on the part of the church, Mr. Newman, lifting his head above the fiery waves, like a certain character delineated by the author of "Paradise Lost," calls to his companions in tribulation:

"Awake! Arise! or be forever fall'n."

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And what is the piece of armour which he and his confederates recommend to the faithful? It is just the doctrine of apostolical succession. The voice of the original tractarians is in effect this—"We are beset by enemies on all sides. We are in great risk of losing the patronage of the State. Let us ascertain and diligently urge the peculiar claims which our church has upon the respect and obedience of the country. Let us tell apathetic Episcopalians and pestilent sectaries that we have bishops descended lineally, as to office from the apostles themselves—bishops whose mystic touch has conferred on us the right, which no Dissenters have, to dispense the word and sacraments. Let us vigorously ply this doctrine as our weapon of offence and of defence." One reason, though not the only one, why Protestant Dissenters were treated with special scorn by these writers, was, that the former were felt in England to be the great champions of the new measures of reform. For a reason, essentially the same, the Papists in Ireland as agitators for reform, were disliked by the Protestant Episcopal Church there—a circumstance to which that church is largely indebted, we believe, for its comparative freedom from the leaven of Puseyism. In Ireland the Established Church recoiled from Popery; while in England the Established Church recoiled from Protestant dissent. Hence in the rude onset made by the Liberal party in England upon the Anglican church, the friends of that church were fain to fall back on the dogma of the succession, which as against Roman Catholics would have been deemed an unsafe resort, inasmuch as they also laid claim to that distinction. The Tractarians sought first of all to rally their forces behind the dread doctrine of the succession; and then ventured with presumptuous imbecility to command the raging heathen to be still, and submit to the mitre and the crosier. They seem almost to have hoped that the exhibition of Episcopal claims would inspire with awe the insurgent masses around, and in their writings they virtually bore the bishops along in solemn procession before the eyes of the irreverent populace, much as the priests of some hoary superstition might bring forth from their shrines their ancient gods, with the view of

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quelling, by a sudden apocalypse a spirit of insubordination among the people. It is needless to say that so far as Dissenters were concerned the doctrine of the succession was fitted neither to awe nor to soothe; but while with them it was ineffectual, it was not so in relation to the friends of the English Church. To many of these this doctrine, at other times perhaps repulsive, was welcome now in the tempestuous hour. It was felt that unless this doctrine could be made good against the assaults of Dissenters, the church would go down. Other doctrines, such as Puseyism has since made notorious, closely related to, if not directly flowing from, that of the succession, were now propounded and advocated; and the more intense the dislike which any bore to dissent in regard to its political movements, the more readily and indiscriminately did they imbibe the notions and sentiments recommended by the astute writers of the Tracts. Thus may we account for the singular fact, that from Oxford, whence in 1829 had proceeded the "No Popery" cry, there issued in 1833 the first of that series of tracts which has exerted on the Protestantism of England and America such a baleful influence. In the course of affairs it had come to pass that to be an advocate of the succession doctrine, and of Baptismal regeneration, was deemed an essential characteristic of a warm adherent to the Church of England. The test of orthodoxy now, in the hour of stern conflict with political Puritanism, was an admiration of Episcopacy and a disposition to magnify the peculiarities in the ritual system of the Established Church. Whatever was supposed to exalt the Anglican hierarchy far above the pretensions of dissent came to be regarded with a favorable eye. Suspicion of the danger which lay on the Romeward side seems scarcely to have crossed any mind. The perils of Scylla alone were seen, while the church was rapidly drifting upon Charybdis. The members of the church in their dread and dislike of the political agitators without, lent a ready ear to the syren voice of sophists within—sophists, who were themselves the victims of the delusions which they propagated. Those who fell into the snare of Puseyism were in a great measure those whose sympathies

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were most enlisted in behalf of the Church of England. In their case, the paradox was realized, that love of a church deemed by them identical with Protestantism, impelled them toward Popery. Before they were well aware of it, in fighting with the adversaries of their church, they had taken positions, and resorted to weapons essentially Popish: and when at length, in consequence of this perverse hearkening to prejudice, the Romish communion began to be enriched with the best blood of England, the genuine Protestants within the English Church, witnessing what had befallen her, might have repeated dolefully and with manifest appropriateness, the tender lines with which the author of Childe Harold lamented the death of Henry Kirke White—

> "So the struck eagle, stretch'd upon the plain,
> No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
> View'd his own feather on the fatal dart,
> And wing'd the shaft that quiver'd in his heart.
> Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel,
> He nursed the pinion which impell'd the steel;
> While the same plumage that had warm'd his nest,
> Drank the last life drop of his bleeding breast."

Well might Archdeacon Hare in his "charge to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes," delivered in 1851, thus express himself:—"To those who remember the feelings and thoughts with which the Romish Church was regarded by the whole body of our own church during the first quarter of the present century, it must needs seem one of the most extraordinary, among the many extraordinary instances of the mutability of human opinion, that the last five years in its second quarter should be marked by the desertion of near a hundred of her ministers—one or two of them among the brightest of her ornaments—to join what was then deemed an effete, decrepit, worn-out, exploded, crumbling superstition, which no man could embrace without forfeiting his claim to be accounted a reasonable being. If any prophet, thirty years ago, had ventured to prognosticate such an event, he would have had to encounter the fate of Cassandra." Admirably, too, does the same sagacious and

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eloquent man indicate the process through which Puseyism matured into Popery. One or two extracts on this subject we make from the "Charge" aforenamed:—"They—the Puseyites—wished to defend her—the Church of England—at once against Rome and against the Protestant Dissenters, but chiefly against the latter whom they regarded as, at the moment, her more formidable enemies. In contending against these they naturally laid great stress on the advantages which she derives from her reverence for ancient tradition." "From contending against the extravagances of private judgment, our brethren got to fancy that the only effect of man's intellectual gifts is to lead him into error. From insisting continually upon the value of authority, they got to pine after some absolute authority which might preserve them from the buffetings of their own loose and vagrant thoughts. They began to long for an infallible church. Hereupon, as so often happens, the wish was father to the thought that such a church must needs exist. Then a step farther, and he who had thus blinded his intellectual eyes tumbled down the precipice, and fell into the jaws of the dragon at the foot of it."

Many other facts might be stated, and quotations adduced to corroborate the principle which we have laid down, that the civil relations of the Church of England, through a combination of circumstances, contributed powerfully to impel her on the path of Puseyism; but enough, we flatter ourselves, has been advanced to convince the unprejudiced of the truth of our assertion.

IV. In accounting for the rise and progress of Tractarianism some stress may be justly laid on certain tendencies, partly antiquarian, partly artistic, in their nature, which have been distinctly manifested in Great Britain within the present century.

Any one familiar with the literature to which the British mind, during the last half century has given birth, can hardly have failed to notice as characteristic of a large proportion of the authors, the manifestation of a certain dreamy love of the past, of the middle ages in particular,

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when simple monks and pious nuns led lives of quiet devotion, and the people delighted to do honor to their feudal lords. A reäction in favor of the middle ages has set in, caused perhaps in part—but only in part—by the fact that heretofore, at least by Protestants, the feudal institutions and times had been regarded only in their most forbidding aspects. The movements of the human mind resemble the oscillations of a pendulum, or to adopt the sweeping generalization of Coleridge, "Everything in nature has a tendency to move in cycles." Error breeds error both by attraction and repulsion. An under estimate of a system is very likely to be succeeded by an over estimate of it: a principle which may serve partly to account for the wistful look toward the past, which many modern writers exhibit.

In the romantic, historical school to which we refer, no name occupies a more prominent place than that of Sir Walter Scott. His mind was deeply tinctured with antiquarian, and particularly mediæval tastes. An old abbey in ruins he contemplated with incomparably greater interest than a church in which the gospel was preached to thousands of immortal beings. Ivy was more important in his eyes than the finest lace in those of a lady of fashion; and a rusty rapier or helmet dug up on Flodden Field possessed an interest in his estimation, akin to that with which an ancient Israelite would have looked upon Aaron's rod that budded. Abbotsford, that irregular poem in stone, reared by Scott to be his baronial residence, bears witness to the tastes of its designer, and stands an outward symbol and memorial of his absorbing passion. Most of his writings, whether his novels, poems, or historical compositions, indicate this antiquarian propensity. Let any one read his "Abbot," "Monastery," "Ivanhoe," "Lay of the Last Minstrel," "Lady of the Lake," or "Marmion," and he will find proof abundant of what has been said in regard to the "Wizard of the North."

Closely connected with this veneration of antiquity there existed in Scott's mind a strong love of feudalism, an aristocratic yearning, which struggled hard, and it is to be feared

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too successfully, with his naturally healthy and plebeian judgment, as well as kindly heart. His "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," in which he is led to review the causes and effects of the French Revolution, betrays this love of aristocracy, and reveals how feeble his sympathies with the people were. "Old Mortality" gives tokens of the same.

Scott—and we confine our attention to him as a typical character—was a creation of the times, an unusually high wave of the advancing tide; but he was also an active instrument in extending the influences by which he himself had been moulded. By his captivating pen he did much to foster and promote the love of the antique, to diffuse romantic notions as to the simplicity, honesty, generosity, and other virtues of those centuries when Popery held unrivalled, if not undisputed, sway, and men's minds, resting sweetly on the doctrine of papal, or at least ecclesiastical, infallibility, were not perplexed with the thorny controversies which the Reformation roused.* Soon it came to be regarded as a

* As confirmatory or illustrative of the judgment above expressed, or at least as of collateral interest, it may be mentioned that Scott seems to have been much more gratified by any honors done him as a landed proprietor, than with those rendered to him as Walter Scott the author. A keen review of his literary production mortified him much less than an affront done him at a county meeting. He was much more flattered with his admission on equal terms to the society of the nobility, than with the applause of the literary world. He delighted to trace a family connection between himself and the noble house of Buccleuch. Neverthelss to his tenants or servants he was affable and kind-hearted, but his affability resembled, and doubtless suggested to himself, that of a feudal lord toward his faithful retainers.

Although in politics averse to the passage of the Act of Emancipation, Scott was yet constitutionally prone to the mummeries of Popery—a proneness which, under different circumstances, would have readily borne him over to that side. He was educated in the pale of the Church of Scotland, his father's favorite minister—if we recollect aright—being Dr. Erskine, the evangelical colleague of the moderate Dr. Hugh Blair. It would seem, however, that Scott's education, so far as concerns the marrow of the Gospel, was very meagre—a circumstance the more strange when the devoted, though rather eccentric, character of the tutor with whom his father provided him is concerned. Miss Carpenter, whom Scott married, was a French lady, who, with her mother, had found refuge in England during the perilous times of the Revolution, and being an Episcopalian, probably

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token of gentle birth and breeding to extenuate the errors and evils of the dark ages, and to peck at the Reformers and the Reformation. Luther, Calvin, Knox, nay Latimer and Cranmer began to be sneered at as men of vulgar minds and imperious tempers, who, perceiving no beauty in monkish practices, dared to deal rudely with establishments of piety, and sought to fix a throne for themselves on the ruins of a religious system which, though perhaps erroneous in some respects, had woven around it a ceremonial so imposing and so beautiful that its doctrinal faults were rendered harmless. Superstition began to be spoken of as only an excess of devotion. Simple maidens fondly dreamed of the sweet convent bell, and learned to prate in dis-

exerted some influence in persuading her husband to renounce, as he did, the church of his fathers.

Toward Popery Scott was perhaps unconsciously inclined through his tastes. Architecture, music, and painting,—arts from which that system has derived great aid,—were influential with him. Besides, the air of antiquity which Popery affects, and the associations which its ritual calls up, were calculated to win upon Scott; and we are not surprised to learn that among his last utterances were portions of hymns used in the Romish worship. Describing the closing scenes in his career, Lockhart, his son-in-law and biographer, thus writes of him:—"But commonly whatever we could follow him in, was a fragment of the Bible, or some petition in the Litany, or a verse of some psalm, (in the old Scotch metrical version,) or of some of the magnificent hymns of the Romish ritual in which he had always delighted, but which probably hung on his memory now in connection with the church services which he had attended while in Italy. We very often heard distinctly the cadence of the 'Dies Træ,' and I think the very last stanza that we could make out, was the first of the still greater favorite—

'Stavat mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem dolorosa,
Dum pendebat filius.'"

It may be further stated that in 1853 Scott's grand-daughter, then his only surviving descendant, the daughter of Lockhart and inheritor of Abbotsford, became, with her husband, a Roman Catholic. She is now dead, and her husband having assumed the name of Hope Scott, retains the property. Within the last three months he has married again,—his present wife being, if our memory do not mislead us, a daughter of the late Duke of Norfolk, and, like the other members of her family, a Roman Catholic. So at length Abbotsford passes over to Rome, toward which it had always pointed!

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paraging terms of those symbols of modern civilization, the factory bell and the steam whistle. Young gentlemen, just let loose from Oxford, sighing for a sensation, yet not the kind of sensation which the vigorous Liberals aimed at affording them, longed for the return of the good old times when the masses were spared the trouble of thinking, when the peasantry were vassals ready "to follow to the field" whatever "warlike lord" might happen to rule the manor. In such a dreamy, romantic state of mind preparation was made for the seeds which, in 1833, Puseyites began to scatter with diligent hand. Scott, and others who like himself were a reflection of the age in which they lived, by diffusing more extensively an admiration of monkish and feudal times, acted as most serviceable precursors to Newman and Pusey. When these latter appeared before the public as apologists for Prelacy at first, but soon after for Popery, they found a large number among the higher classes prepared, through romance and æsthetics, to imbibe their doctrines freely. Ecclesiastical symbolism, so much insisted on by the Tractarians, was a welcome theme to those who, apart from theological controversy, had already learned to overlook the idolatrous worship of the virgin in the glories of the Madonna. And when the poisoned waters began to issue from Oxford, channels for them were already formed over the length and breadth of England. In this way may the rapid spread of Tractarian sentiments be in part accounted for. Tractarianism fell in with, and availed itself of the tendency of the times. C. A. Bristed, in his volume "Five Years in an English University," indicates how Puseyism gained ascendency in some quarters when there was very little concern for any religion. "It has been mentioned," says this pleasant, though not very profound writer, "that the Anglo-Catholic movement was viewed by many as a reäction from evangelicism. The Anglo-Catholics from the first attacked the Evangelicals in one of their strongholds—their influence with the female sex. On the ladies they brought a double battery to bear, not only appealing to their feelings, as others had done, but also addressing their taste. With similar æsthetic arguments they

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attacked men of an elegant and somewhat effeminate turn of mind, and won over many pretty scholars and neat antiquarians. By 'developing' the same idea a little, inveighing against the coarseness of Puritanism and Evangelicism, and giving out that their's was the religion for a gentleman, they found favor with many persons in the upper classes generally, and made sham converts of many toadies to the aristocracy."

Through the influence of Tractarians, the study of ecclesiastical architecture and symbolism, already risen into favor, received a strong impulse. Many were conducted by sentimental effusions on the meaning of "triangles," and "fishes," and "crosses," and sacerdotal vestments, to the confines of Popery, before they were well aware of the fact that they were in motion. Pugin, the great architect of Puseyism, who finally became a zealous Romanist, may be said to have entered Rome through the Gothic arch. Enthusiasm for mediævalism ran so high that in 1839 there was instituted in Cambridge a society, embracing a large number of the wealthy and educated, called the "Cambridge Camden Society," with a view to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains. It may be observed, however, that this society, by its very haste to remodel the churches and introduce into them symbolic ornaments, dealt unintentionally a heavy blow to the cause of Puseyism; for the people who had remained rather torpid and passive so long as Tractarian enthusiasm confined itself to words, began to growl significantly when these words were exchanged for acts of innovation on established usages.

The same epoch which witnessed the rise and reign of the afore-named society, beheld also a singular revolution in many branches of industry through the new-born love for the antique. Cabinet-makers, printers, book-binders, nay even tailors, recognizing the inauguration of a new whim, hastened to conform to the temper of the times. High-backed chairs plentifully adorned with crosses, old styles of book-cases and other articles of furniture, books in venerable type, with illuminated borders and antique binding,

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coats cut in the stiffest and most priestly fashion came rapidly into demand and use. This reactionary wave crossed the Atlantic, and broke upon the American shore with such effect that tokens of its influence may be seen in perhaps every fashionable parlor, or drawing-room, every book-store, nay every toy-shop in the United States and Canada. Since the date of this formidable invasion of the antique, Presbyterians of different schools, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists, have been vieing with each other, and even venturing to contend with Episcopalians and Papists, in the erection of churches distinguished by massive and graceful spires, (those singularly instructive appendages!) stained glass, Gothic arches, together with nooks and corners of different kinds, such as serve very well to symbolize the system with which they were originally wedded. How potent for the enlightenment of the ignorant multitudes who gaze at them must the costly ecclesiastical structures be which now grace the land! Who can remain unacquainted with Biblical doctrines who has such opportunities of learning by crosses, and triangles, and such-like devices! What an impulse has thus been given to the work of evangelization! What "sermons in stones" now greet the eyes of those at least who are versed in the mysteries of symbolism! Let the American churches beware lest in their case, as has happened before now, the external modify and subordinate to itself the internal. We have been induced to devote the more space to the consideration of the particular topic treated of in the present head, because, as it appears to us, in order to account for the rise and extension of Tractarianism, due weight has not been attached to the revival of mediæval tastes and fashions. Mediævalism contributed to the birth of Puseyism, and Puseyism has with filial affection cherished mediævalism.

V. The rise of Puseyism is in some measure, but the progress of Puseyism is in a still greater degree, to be ascribed to the intercourse of the more refined classes in England with the Romanists of Continental Europe. The French Revolution threw upon the shores of England a large number of refugees belonging chiefly to the clerical orders of the Romish

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communion. These men, whose zeal for their religious system was intensified by what they had lately seen and suffered, were received in England with a hospitality, whose warmth was perhaps heightened by the horror with which the wealthier classes especially, of that country, regarded the proceedings of the Revolutionists. The exiled priests were looked upon as the victims of ideas and passions which might soon take possession of the masses of England, and carry desolation and woe into many proud mansions and happy homes throughout the land. The wealthy and refined in England not knowing how soon the fate of the refugees might be their own were drawn toward them with a peculiar sympathy. The Abbe Barruel in his "History of the Clergy during the French Revolution," eloquently describes and acknowledges the generous treatment which he and his fellow-sufferers experienced at the hands of the English people. The cause of the refugees was pleaded by Edmund Burke, and to his appeals and those of others the nation liberally responded. George III. assigned the king's house at Winchester for the accommodation of six hundred indigent priests. The Archbishop of Canterbury made offer of his palace to the French Bishops. The two universities—Oxford especially—were munificent in their donations for the relief of the refugees. The great majority of the "Clergy" of the Church of England seemed to forget the differences between Protestantism and Popery, and, as Barruel expresses it, "to consider this legion of priests as so many brethren." At one time there were in England eight thousand French priests supported by the charity of the nation. Those who were dependent on public charity were allowed two guineas a month per head. From the month of September, 1792, to the 1st of August, 1793, the public subscriptions in their behalf amounted to £32,000 sterling; while during the same period the disbursements in their favor greatly exceeded that amount. Many of the refugees were received into their houses and families by the nobility and gentry throughout the country. Many nuns also, having fled to England, were hospitably welcomed by the most distinguished families in the nation. Need we occupy time

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in showing the disastrous influence which the associations thus formed exerted upon the upper classes in England? Wily and polished priests, admitted freely into aristocratic families, enjoyed choice opportunities—which many of them were not slow to embrace—of instilling their principles into the minds of their unsuspecting benefactors. The very perils through which these men had passed, and the privations which they had endured, threw around them an interest which greatly aided their seductive tongues in gaining the hearts, especially of the young. In many an ivied castle of England was the tale of the refugee listened to with an interest similar to that with which Dido, the lovesick queen, hung upon the accents of the Trojan exile. Employed, moreover, as many of these refugees were, in the capacity of tutors in private families and schools, they enjoyed ample facilities for repaying English generosity by an infusion of Popish faith. Owing in a good degree to the occurrences just narrated a feeling of greater tolerance in regard to Popery began to be displayed among the higher classes in England—a feeling which contributed in part to the development of Tractarianism.

No less injurious to the cause of truth in England has been the custom so prevalent among the wealthier classes in that country of travelling on the Continent of Europe. Prior to the battle of Waterloo, Englishmen were in a great degree shut out from the Continent—unless as they visited it in the capacity of soldiers. That memorable conflict was the closing scene of a protracted and bloody drama—the last startling crash of a terrific thunder-storm which, for years, had rolled over Europe, at once shattering and purifying. Scarcely had the roar of cannon ceased, and the dread tempest given place to a calm, whose stillness was enhanced by contrast with the previous tumult, when the young aristocrats of England began to rush to the Continent—actuated partly by a desire to visit the fields saturated with the blood, and rendered memorable by the bravery of their countrymen, and partly by a wish to gratify other tastes, which men of classic culture might be supposed to have. One effect of this resorting to Papal

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countries was to produce in many of the travelers a general carelessness in regard to religion. Another was to beget a longing for a more pompous ceremonial than the Church of England generally offered; and another still was to promote great enthusiasm for music, painting, and architecture, and through these to create a love for Popery. Ardent young gentlemen, and sentimental ladies who had witnessed the imposing ceremonies of Rome in the gorgeous cathedrals of Cologne, Milan or St. Peter's, returned to England dissatisfied with the comparatively simple worship of the Church of England. It soon became a mark of refinement to assume a foreign air and descant enthusiastically on the suggestive and beautiful ritual of Rome. Influenced by the current of fashion, parents deemed it necessary to send their daughters to France to be educated, or at least to secure for them the instruction of a French governess—in many instances a bigoted Romanist. Thus gradually in England a sentiment favorable to Popery was formed among the upper classes, and Puseyism—itself in part a fruit of such sentiment—struck a note to which these classes readily responded. Much more under this head might be advanced, but we must hurry to a close.

Having now brought to a conclusion our survey of the circumstances and principles from which, as we believe, Tractarianism took its rise, we might appropriately devote some space to an examination of that system as revealing itself in the United States. This branch of inquiry, however, time will not allow us to prosecute. We may summarily state that Puseyism, transplanted to the United States, found in the Episcopal Church congenial soil. Indeed to speak of it as having been transplanted is hardly correct. An impulse from the mother country alone was needed to develop the latent seeds of Puseyism which lie imbedded in the constitution of the Episcopal Church in America. A strong sympathy exists between the Episcopacy of England and that of the United States. The same domineering spirit pervades both—although in both are to be found—rather out of their proper place as we deem it—some of the best of men. English Puseyites anxious to gain over to their side

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the Episcopalians of America, have been at pains to flatter the bishops and ministers of the American Episcopal Church; a labor which has not proved altogether fruitless. We have reason to believe that very many of the ministers of the Episcopal Church in this country are strongly tinctured with Tractarian sentiments. Causes are at work here, very similar to those which have operated on England, in favor of the spread of Puseyite tenets and practices.

It is alleged by many that Tractarianism is on the decline in England. We are of the opinion that it is not gaining ground there as rapidly as it once did; yet we have not seen reason to admit that it is actually losing ground; and in the excitement which at present exists in respect to the new school of essayists—the infidel Tractarians or Broad Church theologians—it should not be forgotten that Puseyism is now developed in England into most formidable proportions. Denunciations of this infidel school have proceeded from bishops who have silently—in some instances gladly—witnessed the spread of Puseyism—a system which, in consequence at least of its organizing and hierarchical tendencies and affinities, is far more to be dreaded than even infidelity. Besides, a more searching analysis than the bishops may care to institute would discover to them that the present flood-tide of rationalism in England is largely owing to the miserable mummeries, puerilities, and double-dealing of Tractarianism; and however loudly these bishops may now howl against Broad church infidelity, we arraign them on the charge—and that not the gravest which might be urged—of having acted the part of dumb dogs in relation to Puseyite delusions. Had they spoken out boldly against the Oxford Tracts, they might now be obliged to combat the Oxford Essays. Oxford infidelity is, in a good measure, a reäction from Oxford superstition; for when the attempt is made to thrust the blasphemous absurdity of transubstantiation on men, there is danger that some of them in recoil from such a dogma will repudiate the authority of the book quoted to prove it.

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Article IV.—The Council of Constance.

The fifteenth century opened with two equally infallible Popes—one in France, the other in Italy—each sustained by equally faithful Catholics; and each distinguished by every possible mark of dissimilitude from Christ and the apostles. In the nineteenth century an army of France and an army of Italy are needful to keep one Pope in his seat, and to protect the shepherd from the resentment of his flock; in the fifteenth, each of those Catholic lands had an entire Pope to itself. The question then was, Which one? Now it is, Whether any? Some progress of right, intelligence, and liberty is indicated by the change.

Ignorance and depravity had dethroned Christ and established the reign of Antichrist in the Romish Church; superstition, with its twin concomitant, immorality, had almost undisputed possession of the field of nominal Christendom. The high and the low were contaminated with vice; fountains and streams were muddied; from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall, the blight had extended. The only indication of any remaining spiritual life or holy aspiration was given by the complaints, invectives, and ridicule of the people, and a small fraction of the clergy, against the shocking impurities of the ecclesiastical orders. The popular clamor became loud and general enough to induce the calling of a Council at Pisa in 1409, for the avowed purpose of reforming the church in its head and members. This council, beginning its work at the fountain head of the evils which were deluging the world, declared both the Popes unworthy of the least honor or respect, and, for the crimes of perjury, heresy, and other flagitious offences, deposed them from the office which they had disgraced. A new Pope was elected; but through which strand of the

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broken line of apostolic succession he received the virtue, or virus, of his predecessors, was not defined by the Council. They did not intend to let him have it through either, for they both continued to exercise their functions with undiminished pomp and pride. So, now there were three infallibles at the head of the Roman Catholic Church; which would have made a very strong and sure thing of it, had the three not been virulently opposed to each other. The last one elected was the first to die; but a few of the gentlemen of scarlet livery, who are seldom tardy in electing Popes, since the choice is made from their own number, immediately selected another.

Such was the state of the Popedom in 1414, when the Council of Constance assembled. John XXIII., Benedict XIII., and Gregory XII. were occupants of St. Peter's great chair. Which was the true Pope, was a question of as many sides as there were Popes. In luxury of life, in partizan pride, in ambition, arrogance, and hypocrisy, their claims are not uneqally balanced. With about equal vigor they appear to have kept up the triangular duel of anathemas. The people, of whom little was expected but their offerings, were left to exercise, as well as they could, a zigzag faith in a church with three monstrous heads. Gregory and Benedict had been excommunicated before; John's turn was not far off. The Hydra fable was enacted as a reality; the church abounded in atrocities and was prolific of heads; but the Council lacked the skill of Hercules, at once to decapitate and to forestal a reproduction.

Constance is a pleasant little town on the Rhine where it issues from the lake of the same name. Part of the city lies on the Swiss side. How different is its fame from that of Geneva, at the other extremity of that romantic land of rivers and mountains!

The Council was convoked by John XXIII., at the urgent solicitation of Sigismund, the Emperor. Political considerations, perhaps, more than religious, induced him to take so lively an interest in this measure; the union of the distracted States was, perhaps, as important, in his judgment, as the union of the divided Church. Scarcely a na-

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tion in Europe was without internal commotion. Domestic feuds, and intrigues of ambition, threatening international war, every where abounded. From Italy to Poland, and from Spain to Hungary, agitation disturbed the tranquility of every nation. In none was there entire peace or general prosperity. Ecclesiastics and religious affairs were mixed up in these confusions. Sigismund desired peace in the church and in the states. Romanism has still a facility in foisting itself into the politics of countries;—paying for the influence it thus obtains, by the servility or suffrages of its people, as the case may require.

The Council of Constance was the great event of the age. The assemblage was immense. The Emperor, Pope John, patriarchs from the Greek Church, ambassadors from European Courts, princes, cardinals, clergy of all grades were there, with their several retinues. Archbishops were present by the score; bishops and doctors by the hundred; the common herd of priests and monks by the thousand. Artizans, sharpers, trafficers, harlots, in great numbers, flocked to Constance for business and profit. The minute historians of the time enumerate, among others, 120 attorneys of the Pope and Cardinals; 242 writers of bulls; 450 shop-keepers, with their men; 222 tailors; 122 shoe-makers; 300 vintners and victualers; 72 money-changers; 505 fiddlers; 718 common women; 336 barbers. The number of strangers in the city was reckoned as high as 100,000.

The council continued three and a half years, closing April 22, 1418. The pay of members, at least from France, ranged from one dollar and eighty-two cents, down to thirty-seven cents per day,—the former being the wages of an Archbishop. No doubt there were some worthy men in that large assembly; but from its acts, and from the character of the times, their number does not appear to have been great, or their influence extensive. It is true of ecclesiastical, as of other assemblies, that they are but aggerations of the virtuous and vicious, which are ordinarily spread over the surface of the community. And herewith was connected the prevalent error, as to the mode of reforming the lives of the clergy. A council was deemed the only method of effecting this needed

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work; but since the council must be composed, in a large measure, of the very persons to be reformed, the policy hardly rises to the wisdom of that indicated in the maxim, "Set a thief to catch a thief." The Word of God was still bound, and its agency was not invoked in the work of reformation. The way was preparing however. The strong and just indignation of the people was aroused; religion had, in its rough companionship with politicians lost the respect which its sacred character inspires, and was only regarded by princes as an element of politics and an instrument of power; the art of printing was soon to facilitate the circulation of thought; and a beginning had been made, by the doctrines of Wicliff and the eloquence of Huss, towards the enlightenment and direction of the popular mind. The despotism of the Popes aroused anger, and the low vices of the priests bred contempt: these passions were strong impulses in the direction of right.

The healing of the disgraceful schism of the church, and the reformation of the clergy were the avowed objects of the council. The proceedings of it show that the latter of these objects was rather dreaded than desired by a lage proportion of its members. Some of the discourses preached, and documents read in the Council, demonstrated the absolute necessity for such reformation. The era was a hundred years anterior to Luther's appearance on the stage of history: the statements are not tinged with the dark colors of Protestant prejudice. Thus speak the men of the Council:—"The clergy," says one, "are nearly all under the power of the devil. The prelates, actuated by malice, iniquity, pride, ignorance, lawlessness, avarice, pomp, simony and dissimulation, had exterminated catholicism and extinguished piety." Maurice, a Professor at Prague and opponent of Huss, charges the schism on the prevailing sin of simony. The Elector of Brandenburgh declares, that "they who are established to take care of the churches," (meaning the bishops,) "interfere to a man almost, in secular affairs, and only spend the revenues thereof in their own diversions." An Italian preacher, on the text of the Publican and the Pharisee, indulges in the severest invectives against the clergy:—

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"There are several Pharisees here, who go up to the temple and do nothing but tell lies, laugh, jeer, sleep, and talk things that are either impertinent or unseemly." Another reproaches the clergy for refusing to administer the sacraments unless they have money for it, and says, "it is become a proverb, that the prelates have as many mistresses as domestics: and do not think that your shame can be concealed, for your mistresses publicly boast of it. And the bishops are no better than the inferior clergy: instead of suppressing them, they take money for indulging them in their crimes. The convents of women, which, according to the canons, ought to be absolutely shut up from men, are public places and theatres, and receptacles of all vanity," &c. The Germans of the council, in a memorial, declare that "for one hundred and fifty years, the church has been laid waste by the avarice, ambition, and sensuality of some popes and assessors; they have taxed and rated crimes like merchandise; that from a principle of avarice, they have admitted vagabonds and persons of ill manners to sacred orders, and that since offices became saleable, nobody thought of knowledge or virtue as any longer necessary for a qualification." The Bishop of Lodi says, in a funeral sermon for the Cardinal de Bari, who died at Constance: "Do we not observe in laymen more gravity, more decency, and more probity of manners and conduct, more respect and devotion in the church, than among the clergy?" Theodore, of Munster, preached on the parable of the vineyard, and said, "Yet it were tolerable, if, though they did not labor in the vineyard, they did but serve as a scare-crow to keep off the birds; but their vices send out such an abominable stink that they can only be compared to carrion which draws the ravenous beasts to trample and ravage the Lord's vineyard." Again, he says, "in these days, the positive laws, that is to say, the canon law and the decretals of the Popes, are advanced above the law of God and the commandments of Jesus Christ: it is done even in this Council, where the prelates make more ado about the authority of the constitution of Clement V., than that of the Decalogue," &c. A writer of the Council gives a long catalogue of the crimes and vices of

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the times: "Devotion is departed from the monks, honesty from the nuns, learning from the clergy," &c.

These extracts are taken from the authentic record of the acts and proceedings of the Council. The earnestness and plainness of these solemn reproofs show how deeply some men felt the wounds with which the great body of the ecclesiastics afflicted the religion which they professed. Others, in a lighter strain confirm the statements. One letter writer says, "There are a thousand learned divines, and from five hundred to twelve hundred public women (femmes publique) in Constance." Even Bellarmine, the able and zealous champion of popery, says, in the latter part of the 16th century, "for some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies were published, there was not, as cotemporary authors testify, any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things: there was not almost any religion remaining." Concio xxviii. But I spare the reader further illustrations of this offensive subject. The liberty of speech, and the use made of it, in the council can only be accounted for by the equipoise of contending factions in the body.

In this grand assembly of Princes, of the states and the church, the conspicuous figure is John Huss, the pastor and professor of Prague, a prisoner in Constance. His pale thin visage is paler and thinner by his confinement in chains; yet his amiable expression, and affable manners, and courageous bearing show that whoever may oppose him, his conscience is yet his friend. He is forty-one years of age. Why is he a prisoner? He had indulged in eloquent and earnest invectives against the vices of the clergy, in the audience of *the people;* he had endeavored to detach the university in which he was professor, from the control of Gregory, a deposed pope, and thus arrayed the partizans of that pope against him; he had offended the Germans by efforts to secure the native Bohemians their rights in their own university; he had denied the propriety of condemning Wicliff's book to the flames; he had favored the giving of

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the cup to the laity in the eucharist; he had got, and was accustomed to give in his sermons, some insight, but not much, into the doctrines of the gospel; he had retrenched a little, and but a little, from some of the errors of the popish theology. Had he been spared to live, the leaven of truth would have spread in his soul; he was as earnest and honest as Luther, and would have advanced as far, had he lived as long. Much smaller attainments of evangelical knowledge, with his power of eloquence for its diffusion, would in those times have exposed any one to the charge of heresy. And the charge of heresy in those times, was the precursor of the stake and the fire, to a poor priest.

He had been excommunicated, some time before the Council, by John xxiii., on bare rumor; but among his true and trusty Bohemians, he continued to preach and to perform his priestly office faithfully. He was summoned to Constance and was among the first to enter that city, having first taken the precaution to obtain a "safe-conduct" from the Emperor. Here he was soon thrown into one of the convent prisons, and from time to time brought before the Council; although it was the opinion of most of the Doctors that a hearing should not be given him. Nor, indeed, had he a fair hearing. Principles utterly subversive of justice were adopted for the accomplishment of his predetermined destruction, such as these—"that all manner of witnesses may be admitted against a heretic;" "that the council may condemn several propositions, with their authors, though by the rules of grammar and logic, those propositions are capable of some true construction;" "that the Council may and ought to condemn propositions, though they cannot evince the falsehood thereof from any express text of Scripture, without the expositions of the Doctors and the usage of the church"—a rule which, I fear, Protestants have not always repudiated. And when Huss plead for the protection of the "safe-conduct," bringing a crimson blush upon the cheek of the Emperor, the Council relieved that selfish prince by enacting that "promises to a heretic are not binding on the conscience."

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The errors charged upon Huss, he firmly denied, and with evident truth. In his speculative belief, he had not yet diverged far from the received popish creed. He believed in Transubstantiation, but that it was God who wrought the miracle and not the priest; he believed in purgatory, but that the prayers for the dead were not of much avail, since there is no mention of it in Holy Scripture. He believed in the intercession of the saints, but not in rendering worship to them. He believed that priestly absolution was a ministrative, and not an authoritative act. His ideas of the Virgin Mary were purely popish. He maintained the merit of human works, but placed faith as the highest of them. He affirmed that Christ, and not the Pope, was the Head of the Church; that the cup should be administered, as well as the bread, to the laity in the eucharist.

But by intrigue and clamor, and not without corruption and even bribery, he was condemned as a heretic—his enemies being his judges. During his several examinations, he maintained a dignified deportment; and though enfebled by sickness and confinement, defended himself as well as a man could, in the midst of such an assembly, who were resolved to destroy him. After his condemnation, he was degraded from the priesthood with as much mock solemnity as is used in investing a Popish priest with it; after which he was delivered to the secular arm to be burned at the stake. The injustice of his trial as to the mode of it, and its decision, had its counterpart in the barbarity that attended his execution; and both had their contrast in the exalted devotion and triumphant faith and heroism with which he met his death, July 6th, 1415, his birth day, aged 42 years.

Ten months later, May 30th, 1416, Jerome, after a similar trial, on similar charges, was executed in the same cruel way. He was a man of learning, not an ecclesiastic, a friend of John Huss, who had come to Constance to aid and encourage him in his afflictions. Jerome was a man of a higher grade of intellect than Huss, of larger attainments in science, and was by a writer of the times styled "a torrent of eloquence." At one time, and for a short time, worn down

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with imprisonment and sickness, he recanted his opinions; but upon regaining strength, he disclaimed his act of infirmity as the greatest crime of his life, and avowed his faith in the doctrines which his judges called heresy. While Huss lived, Jerome attended him as a humble satellite, but after the extinction of that great light, he loomed up to the magnitude and brilliance of a primary, not less effulgent than his predecessor. Amidst the suffocating flames he sang and prayed, "O, Lord God Almighty, have mercy on me, and pardon my transgressions, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth."

These events furnished the council pleasant little interludes to relieve the tediousness and tortuousness of their efforts to stave off the reformation of their own morals; and having no other living heretic to burn, they passed a sentence of combustion upon Wickliff's books and poor old bones which had been mouldering in the grave for thirty years,—only regretting, it may be presumed, that this priestly duty had not been attended to while the flesh and nerves of the good old man were on them.

Diverted by these more interesting engagements, the council made small progress in the principal business, the reformation. *Hic opus, hic labor est.* However, they made a small show. They deposed Benedict, who had undergone the same operation, without detriment, six years before; they received the resignation of Gregory, which he prudently sent in when he saw how things were going; and they deposed John XXIII., by whom the council was called, and who had presided over it for five months, till he fled from Constance in the disguise, which well became him, of a groom. But Benedict was anathema proof, and continuod to play Pope to his party till his death, some six years later. After doing without any Pope at all, unless the persistent Benedict be reckoned one, for two years and a half, the Cardinals elected one who took the name of Martin V., who was, after his election, made deacon, priest, and bishop, in three successive days, preparatory to his consecration as Pope, which took place a week later. True to the instincts

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of the office, he set himself against the work of reformation; and, contrary to the oath he had taken, he hastened the council to a close. The contest before his election had been long and warmly waged on the question, whether the work of reformation or the election of a Pope should be first in order. Both parties foresaw that the election of a Pope would retard the work, if not stop it. The result proved the sagacity of their judgment. Martin had no relish for reformation of morals; the extirpation of heresy he regarded as the mission of the council. And as the council had burned two heretics and ordered the burning of the books and bones of another, it had had glory and satisfaction enough. He may have thought, too, that the best practical measure of reform would be to dismiss his clergy from so dissolute a place as Constance had become since they assembled in it.

And so ended the famous council of Constance, leaving to a more auspicious time, and to more virtuous men, and to more scriptural means, the great work of reforming the apostate Church of Rome. A century more of darkness, the most intense just before day-dawn, and God's grace opened the light of the Bible to the monk of Erfurth, and he, by God's grace, to the world.

It cannot be denied, however, that even in this Council there were some who indulged aspirations for a better state of things in the church. The Emperor, Sigismund, as much perhaps for political as religious reasons, for the pacification of states as much as for the credit of the popedom, desired the healing of the great schism and the correction of the prevailing disorders. Pope Martin himself submitted a considerable number of reform measures; but, it is curious to notice how large a proportion of them relate to the protection and promotion of the finances, and how few to the improvement of morals. The reform committee offered some excellent propositions, which, though adopted by the Council in the interval when they had no Pope among them, were quietly ignored by Martin after his election. The Council did, indeed, *declare* its authority to be superior to that of popes, but Pope Martin *proved* that in adroitness

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he was superior to the Council. In the former part of the Council, the efforts at reformation were evaded by Pope John XXIII., against whom "all the deadly sins and a vast train of abominations" were alleged. During the interval, of about two and a half years, from the deposition of John, who had fled from the Council for the purpose of breaking it up, to the election of Martin, some progress was made, amidst oppositions and difficulties; but Martin's falsity and cunning, after his election, annulled it all.

And in a body, where the authority of God's word was scarcely recognized, where three rival popes had their partizans; and more than thrice three ambitious princes their representatives; where scores and hundreds of ecclesiastics were implicated in the criminalities of the age, little could be rationally expected for the honor of Christ or the restoration of Christian morals in the church. The zeal against John XXIII., issuing in his deposition and imprisonment for over three years—part of the time in the same convent prison where John Huss was lying—is to be ascribed rather to party ascendency than to care for good morals; for the prevailing party insisted on the election of a new pope, plainly for the same reason that others adduced against it, viz.: that it would defeat, as it in fact did, the work of reformation.

In the antecedents, and in the times and doings of the Council of Constance, it is easy to trace the progress of the "irrepressible conflict" between truth and error, rights and usurpations, Christianity and superstition. The true, though as yet dim, light which the word of God had shed on the mind of Wickliff at Oxford, was reflected on that of Huss at Praugue, and by him on the people of Bohemia. A feeble taper illustrates the difference between light and darkness, though it may not be sufficient to dispel the deep and wide-spread gloom. The English nation had borne, with undisguised impatience, the pecuniary exactions of Rome, and the transfer of its ecclesiastical revenues to a foreign court which it had no reason to love or respect. Edward III. was tardy in paying certain arrears of tribute,

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promised by a pusillanimous predecessor; and Gregory XI. was vexed by the delay. The state of feeling in England was, at once, a stimulus and a protection to Wickliff in his bold denunciation of the rapacity of the Pope. "Robber," "antichrist," "insolent priest of Rome," were the gentle epithets which he applied to the haughty foreign bishop. The dogma of transubstatiation, auricular confession, the dissoluteness of the monks, the avarice of the clergy, the luxury and pride of the popes, were the themes of his free and fearless denunciation. The grand principle that placed him in direct antagonism to the traditional Church of Rome was, that "the authority of Holy Scripture, which is the law of Jesus Christ, infinitely surpasses any other writing; because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above that of all mankind." It was this principle pervading his works which made them a terror to the papacy. It was this that gave them a potency, for producing conviction, more effective than his vituperations, and attractive in spite of his hazy scholasticism:—this was the heavy metal that went dashing through the ranks of the enemy from amid the detonations and smoke of his invectives and his philosophy.

Jerome carried Wickliff's books home with him from Oxford; and Huss and Jacobel imbibed their truth and spirit. Bohemia felt through them the effects of the precious importation. People were interested, were aroused, were comparatively enlightened, to repudiate and resist the tyranny of their spiritual rulers. "Wickliff and Huss forever," and "long live the Pope," became the war cries of opposing factions; and bloodshed, accompanied by incredible atrocities, prevailed. It was a rough age, made so by the long, oppressive reign of Popery; selfish passions led to domestic feuds in every land. With rudeness of manners and violence of temper was associated a corresponding severity of speech. The great church schism enlisted antagonistic passions and parties, and the rank and file hurled opprobrious epithets at each other as freely and as fiercely as the leaders did their mutual anathemas. Nor can we wonder that such violent and vituperative style should abound in theological polemics, when fire and the stake

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were deemed sound and conclusive theological arguments.

Why, then, it may be asked, were Huss and Jerome so summarily punished, since their faith was so slightly divergent from that of their church, and their language no more offensive than was used even by members of the Council that condemned them? Two things rendered them particularly odious:—1. They had resolutely and publicly denied the justness of the condemnation of Wickliff's books, and had even recommended them; and 2. Their scathing denunciations of the loose and immoral lives of the clergy and monks had been uttered in the ears of the people, whom their speeches inspired with contempt and hatred of the unworthy ecclesiastics. They were viewed, therefore, as personal enemies by those whose fame and emoluments were affected by their proceedings. Many of these were members of the Council; and they could not let so favorable an opportunity for vengeance pass unimproved. Excommunication had been so often perverted, as the mere vent of impotent passion, that it had lost its power, and, consequently, its terrors; but fire would still burn, and death would still silence heretics.

There was, perhaps, a third reason why the avaricious and dissolute clergy were specially exasperated against Huss and Jerome. These popular speakers analyzed, as well as exposed the prevailing corruptions. They charged them chiefly on the common sin of simony—that is, the purchase and sale of ecclesiastical offices. But they went further back, and showed that simony was a legitimate consequence of temporal endowments. Simony would not exist if there were not offices, and institutions, and places, so endowed as to afford ample and independent revenues. These incipient reformers, therefore, said, when churches and monasteries were endowed, "now poison is got into the church." This made fat benefices that were worth buying; this made the sacred office accessible and tempting to unworthy men who had money; this enabled incumbents to live in idleness and luxury, independent of their people, and with a wide chasm between them and their flocks; this occasioned the distinction between the rich and the poor

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clergy, with the pride of the one and the servility of the other. Endowments involved ecclesiastics in worldly cares and worldly craftiness; occasioned collisions with each other and with temporal rulers; made them parasites of the wealthy in their life, and greedy expectants at their death-beds, flattering them while living, and cheating them when dying.

In a matter of such startling moment as the burning of a human being to death under a judicial sentence, it ought not to be left as a doubtful question, For what offence was this dire punishment inflicted? The crime must be atrocious, the trial fair, the guilt manifest, to justify such a punishment even under the barbarous code of the papacy. But in the case of John Huss, and of Jerome, doubt does rest on the question, till it is dispelled by other light than the testimony, or even the charges, adduced against them in the Council of Constance. That body allowed the largest liberty of accusation under the general and indefinite charge of heresy; it admitted all sorts of testimony; it pursued the most one-sided method of examination; it refused counsel to the accused, and denied the opportunity of answering to the numerous specifications, one by one, as they were read. And it required them—Huss especially—to recant opinions which, he explicitly affirmed before the Council, he had never maintained, and to confess his errors on doctrines, concerning which he solemnly averred his faith to be identical with their own. Viewing his character, charged with no moral delinquency; his life, admitted to be upright and faithful to his priestly office; his theological opinions, far enough from the Bible, indeed, but consonant with the Romish faith; and even his trial in the Council; we are left in doubt and perplexity as to the real cause of his cruel death. Thus was it with Luther—"I found in the library of Erfurth a book of sermons by John Huss. I had great curiosity to know what that arch-heretic had propagated. My astonishment at the reading of them was incredible. I could not comprehend for what cause they burned so great a man, who explained the Scriptures with so much gravity and dexterity."

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But the internal evidence, accompanying the case, dissipate our doubts, and change our wonder into the firm conviction, that John Huss and Jerome died, the victims of revenge, at the hands of malignant ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome, whose wickedness these upright men had honestly exposed, and on whose vileness and hypocrisy their eloquence had turned the contempt and reprobation of the people. It was not that their opinions conflicted with those of their judges on theological doctrines; it was not that any improbity was charged upon their conduct; but it was that they had embarrassed the monks and clergy in their wickedness. Their rich endowments; their ill-gotten revenues; their easy "livings;" their illicit pleasures—these were the interests which the honest heresy of Huss had imperiled. For such attacks upon the self-interest of the pampered clergy, the fire was kindled to consume the body of John Huss on the very day that his death was decreed. A victim of treachery and hatred, a martyr of Jesus, he died, uttering prayers for his murderers and protesting his devotion to the cause of Christ.

That we have given the true theory of the causes which led to the death of Huss, is further apparent from a contingent measure of the Council, adopted upon a rumor that he was about to recant, and so to deprive them of the pleasure of seeing him in the flames. It was, therefore, determined that he should never revisit his beloved Bohemia, nor have an opportunity of addressing to any people the strains of his stirring eloquence; and the Council decreed, that in case of his recanting, "he be forever shut up betwixt four walls, as a very dangerous man, without respect to the Christian faith."

But Huss had no inclination to deny the truths which he had propagated. All along, since his incarceration and before, he had avowed his readiness, as an honest Christian man, to disclaim and recant any of his opinions which might be proved untrue. This avowal occasioned the rumor that he had recanted, which put the Council to the inconvenience of devising another programme of vengeance—"four walls" instead of the flames.

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The Council of Constance must be deemed a failure, with regard to its avowed object—the reformation of the church in its head and members. The Emperor, at whose solicitation it was convened, was disappointed; the kingdoms were more distracted than ever; treaties formed by intrigue were broken by treachery; finances were in disorder; violence and bloodshed prevailed. But the new Pope was delighted with the issues of the Council; the power of the church, and the higher power of the Roman see, had been preserved; he might, by practicing the crimes of John XXIII., become, like him, one of the richest men in Italy, while by observing greater caution he might escape his predecessor's infamy, and preside for life over the most splendid and licentious court of Europe.

Two honest and able advocates of reform had died in the fire of martyrdom; three rival popes had been disposed of, each, however, still having his partizans; the doctrines, sacraments, and morals of Christianity had been mutilated and debased; and the new pope, with the guilt of a false oath on his conscience, in suspending the Council before the work of reformation was finished, had started for Rome;—the Emperor held the reins of his white steed on one side and an elector on the other; Louis of Ingoldstadt, and Frederick of Austria, with four princes on each side, held up his horse-cloth; twelve cardinals, with their red hats, preceded him, and tens of thousands of nobles, gentlemen, and ecclesiastics, followed in his cavalcade.

Another dark and dismal century must pass by, other defenders of God's cause must arise to oppose this glittering iniquity of Antichrist; other martyrs' blood must flow, to enrich the soil for the good seed; the word of God, a power higher than popes or councils, must be released from its bonds, and then the church shall arise and shine, because her light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon her.

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Article V.—Exposition of 1 Cor. iii. 8–15.

"We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block and unto the Greeks foolishness, but unto them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." The great ordinance of heaven, instituted for the purpose of turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, is the preaching of the gospel. And the wisdom of God has been displayed in conferring upon different men very different qualifications to fit them for usefulness in the particular field in which they are called to labor. On one are conferred those rare endowments which qualify him for the ardurous work of breaking up the uncultivated soil, and of scattering the unadulterated seed of gospel truth in those regions where Christ has not been named; while another possesses those qualifications which are better adapted to the advancement of the work after it has been commenced. One is distinguished for that moral courage, that acute discernment, and that logical skill, which qualify him to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and to defend the truth against the attacks of ingenious adversaries; while another is remarkable for that fervent piety and that enlarged experience in divine things which enables him to minister to the edification and comfort of true believers. But whatever may be the natural endowments or acquirements of the Christian minister; whatever may be his talents, or learning, or zeal, it is all important that he should know and feel that his success in preaching the gospel depends on the blessing and concurrence of heaven. "Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."

One particular object of the apostle in these verses is to suppress that factious spirit which had displayed itself in the

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Corinthian Church, under the influence of which parties were formed under favorite leaders. "One saith I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos." To rebuke this carnal spirit, the apostle inquires, "Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?" It was the honor of Paul, that by his instrumentality a Christian church had been planted in this pagan city. After the apostle had left Corinth to preach the gospel in other places where Christ had not been named, Apollos succeeded him; "who when he was come, helped them much who had believed through grace." Accordingly, the apostle says, "I have planted, Apollos watereth." But to show the utter impropriety of forming a party and setting up the claims of one Christian minister in opposition to another, the apostle adds, "He that planteth and he that watereth are one." Whatever diversity there may be in the peculiar gifts which are bestowed upon different Christian ministers; whatever may be the particular department in which they are called to labor for the good of the church, they are all "one." They are one in office, and one in authority. They are all alike the ministers of Christ, deriving their authority from Him, and being appointed by Him for the same end, which is the edifying of the body of Christ. And as they are all alike the ministers of Christ, "each one shall receive his own proper reward, according to his own labor." Hence we may learn,

1. That those whom the Lord Jesus employs in preaching the gospel, are called to *labor*. It never was the design of heaven that the Christian ministry should spend their days in ease, in indolence, and inactivity. They are appointed to watch for souls as those who must give account; and their office calls for the exercise of sleepless vigilance. They are required to follow Him whose meat it was to do the will of His Father in heaven; and who under the influence of compassion for the souls of perishing men, went about doing good.

2. Whatever treatment the faithful minister of Christ may receive from men, his Lord and Master will not leave him unrewarded. He shall now enjoy the approbation of

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Him whose favor is life; and in that day when the assembled universe shall stand before God, he shall be owned and honored as a good and faithful servant.

3. The reward of every faithful minister of Christ will be "according to his own labor." He whose labors have been more abundant, more assiduous, and more persevering, shall receive a more glorious reward. The reward will not be according to the man's talents, nor yet according to his success. Whatever may be the talents for which a man is distinguished, it is to God he is indebted for them; and he as a Sovereign distributes them in accordance with his own good pleasure. It is God, moreover, who giveth the increase; and therefore the success of the Christian minister depends on the blessing of heaven. To God, therefore, and not to man, belongs the honor of the Christian minister's success. But he who faithfully employs the talents which God has given him, and labors assiduously and diligently in the performance of his duty, shall be rewarded according to his labor, whether it be the will of God that he should be successful or not. It was in the heart of David to build an house for the God of Israel, and he labored assiduously in preparing materials for that purpose. But the honor of accomplishing the work was assigned to another. Heaven approved and rewarded the pious purpose, though David was not permitted to see its execution. "The Lord said unto David, whereas it was in thine heart to build an house to my name, thou didst well, that it was in thine heart. Nevertheless, thou shalt not build the house." It may be in the heart of the Christian minister to build up a church in a particular place; and he may labor with much self-denial and assiduity for the purpose of accomplishing the work. But it may be the will of God, that like David, his labors shall be employed in preparing the way, and in providing materials for the sacred edifice, while to one who shall come after him may be assigned the less difficult task of arranging these materials into a comely building. Let, then, every faithful minister of Christ learn for his encouragement, that the reward which every one shall receive is "according to his *own labor*."

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Having employed a similitude taken from agricultural life, for the illustration of his subject, the Apostle introduces another for the same purpose drawn from mechanical pursuits. Speaking of the Christian ministry, he says,—"We are laborers together with God; ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building." By the one similitude the church is presented to our view under the idea of a field under cultivation. "Ye are God's *husbandry*." And in accordance with this representation of the church, the Christian ministry are laborers employed in the cultivation of this field. By a different similitude the church is exhibited to our view, under the idea of a building; and then in a corresponding manner, the Christian ministry are represented as workmen employed in the erection of this building. "Ye are God's *building*," And they who are employed in this work are "laborers together with God." The building in the erection of which they are employed, is God's house; in the execution of their work, they are to be governed by his directions; the materials employed in the erection of the building, must be such as he has appointed; and for their successful prosecution of the work in which they are engaged, they are dependent upon the blessing and concurrence of Heaven.

With reference to the fact that it was by his ministry that the Gospel was introduced into the city of Corinth, and the foundation of a Christian church was established in that stronghold of idolatry, the Apostle says, "According to the grace of God, which is given unto me, I as a wise master-builder, have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon." The labors of the Apostles were not confined to any one particular place. After they had succeeded in any Pagan city, in turning a few individuals from dumb idols to the service of the living and true God, they usually organized a church, and appointed officers to whose care it was committed. After having labored in Corinth for a season, with much success, and having laid the foundation of a large and flourishing church in that licentious city, the Apostle left to other hands the prosecution of the work which he had commenced. And to all who might succeed

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him the Apostle administers the necessary caution, "Let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon." And in connection with this caution, he gives this general instruction, which is of vital importance to all who are employed as builders in the church of God. "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Verse 11. Between the Lord Jesus Christ and his church there exists a spiritual union, which in Scripture is represented under a variety of similitudes. Here the expressive similitude of the foundation and the superstructure of a building is employed. As the building depends not only for its stability, but for its very existence upon the foundation, so the church exists and stands immovable, by virtue of life and support derived from Jesus Christ. This is the foundaticn of the church which God himself hath laid. "Thus saith the Lord, behold I lay in Zion, for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation." And this foundation is laid by the Christian ministry, when in their official capacity they exhibit Christ crucified as they way, the truth and the life; and when as the result of all their teaching, sinners are brought to Christ, as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved. Such was the foundation which the Apostle, in the exercise of his ministry, had laid in Corinth; and let no man presume to lay any other.

When the Apostle says of the Ephesians, "Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," (Eph. ii. 20,) we are not to understand that the apostles in their persons constituted any part of the foundation of the church, but that they as builders in the house of God, in the exercise of their ministry, laid this foundation. And what that foundation is, Paul, one of these apostles, here informs us. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." This, and this alone is the foundation of the apostles and prophets, which was laid by them as builders employed in the erection of the spiritual temple.

By a misinterpretation of the words of our Lord, addressed

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to the Apostle Peter, (Mat. xvi. 18,) the pretended successors of Peter contend that this Apostle was constituted the foundation on which the church is built. "Thou art Peter," saith our blessed Lord to this distinguished Apostle, "and on this rock will I build my church." Whatever may be the precise import of these words, it may be sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that they cannot by any fair construction be made to support the view of the Papal hierarchy. Our Lord does not say to Peter, "on *thee* will I build my church," but on something else. "Thou art *Πετρος*," (Petros,) says the Amen, the true and faithful Witness, "and upon this *πετρα* (petra) I will build my church." The language itself distinguishes between Peter and the foundation on which the church is built. Peter is not the foundation of the church, but by the grace of God, as a true believer, he was made a living stone in the sacred temple; and in his apostolic character he was employed as a builder in the erection of that church which rests upon Jesus Christ, the foundation which God has laid in Zion.

Having laid down the general principle, that Jesus Christ is the only true and proper foundation of the church, the Apostle proceeds to give some necessary instruction and warning to those who are officially employed as builders in the house of God. "If any build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it." Verse 12.

With a view to the proper interpretation of these verses, it may be proper to inquire—

1. What are we to understand by the different materials which are here supposed to be built upon the true foundation, by those who are builders in the house of God; "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble?"

2. What is meant by the fire which is to try the character of every man's work?

3. What is the reward to be enjoyed on the one hand, and the loss to be sustained on the other, by the builder, according to the character of his work?

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Let it be kept in mind distinctly, that the Apostle is here speaking of the Christian ministry under the similitude of workmen, or builders. And the persons here spoken of are supposed to be ministers of Christ, who are not only professedly engaged in his service, but who are building upon the true foundation. But while they are regarded as true ministers of Christ, it is supposed that there may be considerable difference in the character of the work which they perform, and in the degrees of their fidelity and devotedness in the service of Christ, in which they are officially engaged. And hence there is a corresponding difference in their reward. "Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor."

With regard to the materials which these workmen introduce into the walls of the sacred temple which they are engaged in erecting, it is supposed that some build upon the true foundation "gold, silver, precious stones;" while others incorporate in the building such unsuitable materials as "wood, hay, stubble." It has been, perhaps, the more common opinion among expositors, that by these metaphorical terms we are to understand the different character of the doctrines which are propagated by those who are employed in preaching the Gospel. According to this theory, the terms "gold, silver, precious stones," would represent the precious truths of the Gospel, while "wood, hay, stubble" would represent the mere doctrines of men. This interpretation, however, is liable to this very serious objection, that it proceeds upon the supposition that doctrines constitute the materials of which the church is composed. As has already been remarked, the church is here represented under the metaphor of a building, and the ministry are described as workmen employed in the erection of this building. In carrying up the walls of this spiritual house, some of the workmen employ "gold, silver, precious stones;" while others build on the true foundation, "wood, hay, stubble." The materials of which the church is composed, however, are not the doctrines which men preach, but the members who, by the instrumentality of preaching, are introduced into the household of faith. The preaching

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of the doctrines of the Gospel is the appointed means by which men are brought out of the world into the church of Christ; but these doctrines are not the materials of which the church is composed. And the Apostle in this place is not speaking of the means by which the church is built up, but of the materials of which it is composed. And these, as already remarked, are not doctrines, but men who professedly embrace the doctrines of Christianity.

According to the uniform representation of the Scriptures, the visible church in the present world is a mixed society, embracing not only true believers, but also others, who have only the form of godliness, while they deny the power thereof. Accordingly, our Lord represents the kingdom of heaven under the similitude of a field in which there are tares growing among the wheat. And, employing the metaphor of a vine and its branches, to represent the union between himself and his professed disciples, some of these branches are described as fruitful, while others bear no fruit, and are finally taken away and committed to the fire. And in strict accordance with this uniform representation of the visible church on earth, in the passage under consideration, true believers are represented by the metaphorical expressions, "gold, silver, precious stones," which are incorporated in that spiritual building which rests upon Jesus Christ the true foundation; and the terms "wood, hay, stubble," are designed to designate those members of the visible church, who have only a name to live while they are dead.

The correctness of this interpretation will more clearly appear when we compare it with other passages of Scripture. The Apostle Peter, when addressing his Christian brethren, employs a similar metaphor to represent true believers. "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." 1 Pet. ii. 5. There can be no doubt that, by the "lively stones" of which the Apostle Peter speaks, which are compacted together so as to form a spiritual house, we are to understand true believers. And the "gold, silver, precious stones" of our Apostle, are evidently to be understood as metaphorically representing the same persons as

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are designated by the "lively stones" of the Apostle Peter. And in a parallel passage, where the metaphor of a sacred building is employed to represent the church of Christ, the Apostle addresses his brethren in the following language:—"In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." Eph. ii. 21, 22. Observe here, that believers are represented under the idea of the materials of which the church is composed; they are "builded together for an habitation of God, through the Spirit."

The conclusion, then, is obvious, that as the Apostle is here speaking of the church under the similitude of a house, and of the Christian ministry under the idea of builders who are employed in the erection of this house, the terms "gold, silver, precious stones," and the opposite terms "wood, hay, stubble," are employed to represent the different characters of those who now compose the visible church of Christ.

2. A second inquiry is, What are we to understand by the "fire" which is to test the character of every man's work? It is quite manifest that the term is to be understood, not in a literal, but in a metaphorical sense. As the terms "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble" are employed figuratively to represent the different characters of those of whom the visible church is composed, so consistency requires us to understand the term "fire" as here used, in a metaphorical sense. To ascertain the purity of metals, they are tried by fire. When gold and silver are tried by fire, the genuine metal appears to advantage; while wood, hay and stubble when exposed to the action of fire are at once consumed. The trial by fire, then, of which the Apostle here speaks, is that rigid scrutiny, to which every member of the church shall be subjected; the result of which shall be to exhibit every man's character in its true light. At present we are liable to be mistaken in forming an estimate of the real character of those who profess the name of Christ. Many have a form of godliness, and may be regarded by the church as members of the household of

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faith, while they are strangers to the renewing and sanctifying grace of God. But though, through the exercise of God's patience and forbearance, the tares may be permitted to grow among the wheat until the harvest—at that time a separation shall be effected. The wheat shall then be gathered into the barn, and the tares shall be collected together and committed to the fire. So in the end of the world, "the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity." The character of the materials which the Christian minister has built upon the true foundation, will then be made manifest. "Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." The day of final account, because of its momentous importance, and the eternal interests connected with it, is here denominated emphatically "*the day*." In that day the character of the works of all men will be made manifest; for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. But the Apostle is not here speaking of the works of men generally, but of the work which each individual minister of Christ has performed as a builder in the church. In the same sense, the Apostle evidently employs the term "*work*," when adverting to the fact, that it was by his ministry the Corinthians had been introduced into the church,—he says, "Are not ye *my work* in the Lord." 1 Cor. ix. 1.

It thus appears, that the Apostle in these words, calls the attention of the Christian ministry to that solemn account which they must give of their stewardship, and to the rigid scrutiny which every man's work shall undergo in the final day. "Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it." It will then appear whether the Christian minister has been faithful as a steward of the mysteries of God; whether he has been careful to declare the whole counsel of God, and faithful and impartial in the application of the discipline established by the King of

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Zion for the preservation of the purity of the church; or whether, through his negligence and unfaithfulness, men have been encouraged to enter the church under the influence of carnal motives; whether he has been faithful to the trust committed to him, and has built upon the true foundation, "gold, silver, precious stones;" or whether, through his carelessness and inattention, "wood, hay and stubble" have been incorporated with the lively stones in the walls of the spiritual temple.

3. Our next inquiry is, What is the reward to be enjoyed, or the loss to be sustained by every man according to his work? "If any man's work abide, which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward." Verse 14. The language here used must not be confounded with that which is elsewhere employed, where the issues of the final judgment are described, with reference to the whole human family. With regard to the general judgment, it is said, that "the dead were judged of those things which were written in the books, *according to their works.*" In the passage under present consideration, the Apostle is not speaking with reference to mankind generally, but particularly in relation to the Christian ministry. Nor does the language here used refer to their works generally; that is, to the deeds of their lives; but particularly to their official work; the work which as ministers of the Gospel they have built upon the true foundation. If the work which the Christian minister has performed shall abide the trial; if his work when examined by the infallible rule, shall be found to have been faithfully executed, "he shall receive a reward." Having been faithful and assiduous in preaching the truth as it is in Jesus, and having been instrumental in introducing many members into the church of God in accordance with the laws of Christ's house, he shall be publicly owned and honored as a good and faithful servant. Those who through his instrumentality have been brought to the saving knowledge of the truth, will in that day appear as his joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord Jesus. Having been not only faithful in maintaining the cause of

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truth, but through the blessing and concurrence of Heaven, having been successful in turning many from darkness unto light, he shall enjoy the honor which is peculiar to those who, having turned many unto righteousness, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars forever and forever.

But, on the other hand, "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss." Verse 15. If the work which the Christian minister has performed in the church, when examined, shall be found to be defective, and such as cannot stand the trial to which it must be subjected, "he shall suffer loss." He shall have no part in the reward which shall be the portion of the faithful servant. His ministerial work having been but imperfectly and unfaithfully executed, he shall receive no reward for it.

It may result from two causes particularly, that the work of the Christian minister in building up the church may be executed very imperfectly; and as the consequence, he shall lose the reward of the faithful servant.

1. He may exemplify in his own deportment but little of the life and power of true religion. It is all important that the Christian minister should teach by his life, as well as by the labors of the pulpit. To his son Timothy, Paul the aged, says, "Be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." But if there should appear in the conduct of the minister of the gospel, an air of lightness and a want of seriousness; if his deportment should manifest much of a spirit of worldly-mindedness and a disposition to conform to the maxims and usages of the world; if in one word, his life and conversation should manifest little interest in the concerns of true religion, the effect of his example will be to lower the standard of Christianity, and to produce the impression upon the public mind, that religion is a mere outward form. And if through his instrumentality any are brought out of the world into the church, they are likely to be such as have entirely mistaken views of the nature of true religion, and

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who have a regard for nothing more than the mere form, while they deny the power of godliness.

2. Under the influence of an improper desire to enjoy popularity, and secure the good opinion of the multitude, the minister of the gospel, may be unfaithful in the discharge of ministerial duty. He may yield to the temptation to be silent in relation to those doctrines of the gospel which are particularly offensive to the pride of the human heart; or he may neglect to exercise that salutary discipline which is designed to preserve the church from the influence of those who are enemies to the cross of Christ. To enjoy the approbation of our fellow men is desirable. And if popularity can be secured in connection with the faithful discharge of duty, it is not to be disregarded. But the evil consists in attaching such importance to the applause of men, as would lead to a surrender of principle, and the sacrifice of duty for the sake of enjoying it. And to temptations from this quarter, the ministry are sometimes exposed. To secure the favor of the wealthy and the great, a strong temptation may be presented to the mind of the Christian minister to remain silent with regard to certain doctrines of the gospel which are peculiarly unacceptable to the depraved heart; as well as to neglect the enforcement of the laws of the house of God, in the exclusion of the openly immoral from the fellowship of the church. The tendency of such a course is to introduce into the church and retain in her fellowship, men of corrupt minds, and thus to build up the walls of the spiritual house with "wood, hay, stubble."

But though the ministerial workman shall receive no reward for his work, which when tried by fire, shall be found to have been unfaithfully executed, yet "he himself shall be saved." It is here evidently supposed, that the Christian minister whose case is described, is himself a believer in Christ, though as an officer in the church, his work has been executed very imperfectly. And hence there is an important distinction drawn between his own personal destiny and the fate of his work. As a man, being himself a new creature in Christ Jesus, he shall be saved. But as a min-

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ister of Christ, having executed his official work in a very negligent and superficial manner "he shall suffer loss." The work which he has performed as a builder in the church of God, when subjected to the test, being found to be composed of unsuitable materials, shall go unrewarded. Having through criminal negligence and unfaithfulness introduced into the fellowship of the church those who have only a form of godliness, while they deny the power thereof, he shall not receive that crown which is the peculiar reward of the faithful servant. Those who through his instrumentality have been admitted into the visible church, shall not in the final day appear as his joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord Jesus. In this glorious reward he shall have no part; but, in this respect, he shall suffer loss. But, though in consequence of his unfaithfulness as a Christian minister, he shall suffer the loss of that reward which is the crown of ministerial fidelity, yet possessing the root of divine grace in his own heart, while in his ministerial life he exhibited little of its fruits, he himself shall be saved though his work shall be burned. And so narrow shall be his escape from destruction, that he shall be saved as one who passes through the fire. The translation, "yet so as *by fire*," does not appear to express the meaning of the Apostle. The translation "by fire" would seem to convey the idea that the fire is the means by which his salvation is secured. But the literal translation, and that which is adopted in some of the earlier versions, is, "He himself shall be saved, yet so as *through* (διὰ) *the fire*." There appears to be an allusion to the narrow escape of a man from a house on fire, who has no time to save his effects, but who barely escapes with his life while his property is consumed by the devouring element. It is a proverbial expression to denote a narrow escape from imminent danger. An expression of the same general character, is employed by the Psalmist in describing the extreme dangers through which the church had been conducted. "We went *through fire* and through water, but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place." Ps. lxviii. 12.

As among private Christians there is great diversity in

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their Christian attainments, and as there will hereafter be a corresponding diversity in the degrees of heavenly glory to which they shall be exalted, so among Christian ministers who are themselves partakers of divine grace, there often is a great difference in the degrees of their zeal, devotedness, and fidelity in the service of their common Lord, and consequently there will be an equal difference in their final reward. The future reward of the Christian is not a matter of debt but of grace. It is a crown of righteousness which, says the Apostle, "the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing." The Christian shall receive a reward, not *for* his works, as though they were meritorious in the sight of God, but *according to* his works. And in the case before us, which relates to the Christian ministry, "every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor." Where the labor of the minister of the Gospel has not been faithfully performed; where, instead of acting under a just sense of the high responsibility which rests upon him, he has been too solicitous to secure his own popularity and draw after him a crowd of admirers, and has built up the church with "wood, hay, stubble," the day will reveal the character of his work, and he shall lose the reward of the faithful laborer. But being himself a Christian, though lamentably unfaithful as a minister of Christ, he shall be saved. Yet, as a divine testimony against his negligence, and unfaithfulness, and supineness in the discharge of the duties of his office, his escape from destruction shall be as that of one who passes through the fire.

From the remarks which have been made, it appears—

1. That this portion of Scripture gives no countenance to the Romish doctrine of Purgatory. According to the Romanist, those of the human family who are not perfectly sanctified at death, enter into a place called Purgatory, where the soul experiences a purgation by fire, before it is prepared for admission into heaven. And, in support of this hypothesis, an appeal is made to these words of the Apostle. But the end to be accomplished by the fire of

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which the Apostle speaks, is essentially different from that which is to be effected by the fire of Purgatory. According to the Apostle, "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is;" that is, the metaphorical fire of which the Apostle speaks shall reveal or make manifest the character of the work which every builder has performed in the church of God. But the purgatorial fire of the Romanist is designed to purge the souls of men from the defilement of sin. The fire of the Apostle performs its office in "*the* day" —the day of judgment—when it shall discriminate between the different characters of those who are connected with the visible church; whereas the fire of Purgatory, which exists only in the imagination, is supposed to perform its office in the future world, in purifying the soul, that it may be prepared to enter into heaven.

2. The great object of the Christian ministry should be, not simply to increase the number of the professed followers of Christ, but rather to labor to add to the church of such as shall be saved. When the work of the builder in the house of God shall be examined in the final day, it matters not what amount of materials he may have built upon the true foundation; if they shall be found to be "wood, hay, stubble," he shall receive no reward for his work. "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss."

3. The consideration, that "every man's work shall be made manifest," should arouse the Christian ministry to activity, devotedness, and zeal in the service of their Lord and Master.

4. When the faithful minister of Christ looks forward to the reward which he is authorized to expect in "that day" when every man's work shall be made manifest, he may say in view of all the privations, and reproach, and persecution to which he may be exposed, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God.

5. Are there persons of very different characters in the

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visible church? Is it so, that "wood, hay, stubble," as well as "gold, silver, precious stones," may in this life be incorporated in the walls of that building which rests upon the true foundation? Then it becomes the solemn duty of every member of the church to examine his own character in the light of God's word. Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Christ is in you except ye be reprobates? Let every one inquire, Am I one of those who, by the grace of God, have been planted in the house of the Lord, who shall flourish in the courts of our God? If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.

Article VI.—"The Turkish Empire."

The Empire of the Grand Sultan extends over the lands most celebrated in history and song. In Europe the countries lying between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and the Dardanells and the Danube bow to his sceptre. These lands in Europe are now known as Bulgaria, Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia. In Asia and Africa the Empire stretches from the Black Sea to the Lybian Desert and the mouth of the Nile, and from the Dardanells to the Persian line. This includes the ancient countries of Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Armenia, Babylon, Assyria, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

The fertile lands of the Empire are watered and enriched

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by rivers of the highest historic renown. The Nile, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Tigris.

The Empire within the memory of man was much more powerful and extensive than to-day; for it has lost all the lands beyond the Danube, and the rich provinces of Georgia, Circassia, Crimea, and the kingdom of Greece. And though thus despoiled the Turkish Empire is still of colossal magnitude and is rich in material resources beyond the tables of computation and the dreams of fancy. The Black Sea on the north invites into the ports of her Empire, the commerce of Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Persia.

With an Asiatic seacoast of two hundred miles, and an European of not less than twelve hundred, the commerce of the world might be borne to its shores, and the ships of nations furl their sails in her harbors.

Noble mountains bearing all the forms of beauty and grandeur, are rich in gold, silver, and iron; and perform the beneficent offices of lending an endless diversity and charm to the scenery, tempering the winds, and with a thousand streams fertilizing the valleys.

The Empire extending from the forty-third degree of north latitude to the tropics, from the regions of winter storms to countries where a snow-flake is never seen, and the breath of frost never felt, there is produced everything essential for human want and the gratification of luxury.

The wheat of the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Danube, has a world celebrity. Egypt and Asia Minor yield in abundance rice, sugar, tobacco, maize, and cotton, and in some districts coffee. The fruits of Asia Minor—the grape, the fig, the orange, and the plum are the finest of their kinds, and find a ready sale in all markets.

Silk is produced in large quantities in Mount Lebanon and Syria, and in many districts from Damascus to Constantinople. A part of this is manufactured into the brilliant robes of the orientals; but much of the raw material is borne to the looms of France and England, and thence flows forth the beautiful silks and satins which adorn our

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daughters, without toiling and spinning, in garments more glorious than those of Solomon.

All the lands fanned by the winds of the Mediterranean enjoy climates singularly genial and placid—for many months not a storm will disturb the repose of nature. There are few of those sudden and violent alternations of heat and cold, of darkness and sunshine, which mark our climate. In those countries, nature, like man, delights in rest. For days and weeks not a passing cloud obscures the heavens; not a wind ruffles the sea or agitates the forests; and the world reposes in a dream like quiet, reminding one of the placid slumber of a healthy child. Even the islands, which one sees from mountain and shore, rest on the bosom of the deep, like great sea-birds asleep, with bent neck and folded wing. But the great charm of those lands is not in the sublimity of the scenery, in the brilliancy of their skies, nor in the richness of their fruits and balminess of their atmosphere: but a thousand historical memories invest them with an imperishable glory. The robe of the great and good drops from their shoulders when they die and invests the scenes of their life and labors with an interest that never *dies*. The stars are brighter, because they looked up to them from amid these scenes and beheld their nightly glory. The flowers are more fragrant, because, springing from the dust, trodden by the feet of heroes; the mountains and valleys are moulded into forms of greater beauty, because seen and loved by them. The soul of that man must be dead to all noble emotions who can, for the first time, stand upon the shores of Asia Minor and Syria, without a feeling of deep solemnity and awe. He stands upon the shores of a land which was the cradle of the human race, from which the various nations went forth to subdue and populate the globe.

There arises out of the dim shadows of an early world, the teachers, lawgivers, and patriarchs, whose lessons of wisdom are, to this day, the germs of the highest civilization, and whose lives make them still the models of all that is lovely and of good report.

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This country has the theatre of all those scenes and adventures which form the staple of ancient history. What great forms comes up out of the dim and mighty past!—Noah, Abraham, Moses, Job, and Ramesis. And in the still distincter light—David, Solomon, Homer, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander. What tides of great historic recollections sweep after each other, each leaving its indelible impress on the world! Egypt, with its great monuments and pictured tomb palaces—to this day exciting the wonder of all travelers, and mocking the puny strength and mechanical skill of moderns—Babylon, Nineveh, Persia, and India, each in their time the centres of civilization and power. But, alas! what a change has come over these once glorious lands! The great cities of the past are now deserted and silent. The pride and the pomp have come down into the dust, and where once was heard the voice of millions, is now the gloom of the desolations of many generations. The loss of liberty, the change in the course of commerce, the ravages of war, no doubt greatly dimmed the splendor of the last. But, in the days of the Cæsars, and until the age of Mahomet, Western Asia and Syria continued to be populous and opulent. But under the fatal shadow of Mohammedanism all their glory passed away like a dream. Never has there fallen on the world a greater curse than Mohammedanism. It has descended upon these countries as a fatal blight and mildew. It has swept away, with fire, sword, and famine one-third of the human race; so that cities and islands, which were a thousand years since full and prosperous, are now empty and forsaken. It has turned a fruitful land into a wilderness, broken up all the fountains of knowledge, and, by violence, misrule and oppression, has destroyed trade and clouded the face of millions with the darkness of despair. It has extinguished the light of ancient civilization, and borne back many nations into the night and miseries of barbarism.

"What is to be the future of Turkey?" is to-day one of the gravest questions asked in the council-chamber of kings, and in the conference of Christian philanthropists. "Can she be reformed? Can she be brought into harmony with

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the Christian spirit and institutions of the age?" We may be assisted to answer these, and other questions of a like import, by attempting to portray the character of the Turkish nation, their government, and the character and condition—social and religious—of the various people over which the grand Sultan reigns. The Turks made their first appearance on the field of history in the year 540 of the Christian era. Their original home was on the high table lands of Asia, near the Caspian Sea. A portion of the Tartar race, from which they descended, is still found in the original home. This people, called Turcomans, boast that they neither dwell under the shadow of a tree—nor obey a king—are a warlike and lawless race—who live mainly by plunder and black-mail on caravans and travelers. They number about forty thousand families, and are still distinguished as the finest horsemen in Asia. Their religion is a compound of Mohammedanism and idolatry. Their country contains no towns, temples, nor mosques. The tradition in regard to the Turks, is, that they were for a long time the slaves of a more powerful race; and the principal mark of their servitude was, that they were compelled to shoe all the horses of their conquerors. Soon, inspirited by the energy and eloquence of a great leader, they broke the sceptre of the great Khan of Georgia, their master. And the annual ceremony of a heated iron, laid on the anvil and hammered into form, by the king and his nobles, perpetuated the humble origin of the Turkish nation. After spreading the terror of their name from Constantinople to Pekin, they were for a season "bound"—many causes combined to check their conquests. The power of Persia, the rise of Mahomet, and the strength of the kingdom of his successors, for a time curbed the bold horsemen of the Caspian. In the meantime, they became converts to the faith of the Koran, and the descendant of the prophet found in Turks the most faithful gaurds of his sacred tent. But, at length, the weakness of Persia and the indolence of Caliphs, invited them to realize their dreams of conquest. For four hundred and fifty years, in the midst of polished and civilized nations, they preserved the manners of Sythian shep-

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herds, changing their encampments as the seasons demanded; hired to fight the battles of all nations, tasting the luxuries of all lands, and bearing to their tents the splendid gifts of refined and educated princes, they still fed their cattle at the gates of cities, and rested under the shadow of great temples. Various causes operated in the tenth century to combine, under the command of one great leader, all the scattered bands and tribes of Turcomans. At first Persia was startled by the power and military prowess of the Turkish horsemen. The reigning monarch of Persia was Mahmoud, one of her wisest and most illustrious kings. He had, at different times, received into his kingdom the wandering hordes of Turkish shepherds, until admonished of his danger by their numbers and military success. In order to discover, if possible, the strength of the Turks, the Sultan Mahmoud sent an ambassador to the camp of their chief. "Should my master," said the ambassador, "wish your aid against his enemies, what number of men can you send?" "If," said their chief, "you send one of my arrows to our camp, fifty thousand horsemen will spring into their saddles." "If that number should not be sufficient," said the chief, "send this arrow to the tribe of Balik, and fifty thousand more will hasten into the field?" "But," said the trembling courtier, "if my master should need all your forces!" "Then," replied the chief, "send my bow to all the tribes, and two hundred thousand horsemen will spring into their saddles for your help." From this hour they were the professed servants, but the real rulers of Persia. Still, for one hundred and seventy years more, they were the four angels bound; or, restrained by the waters of the Euphrates, and satisfied with their conquests, would, in all probability, have never again disturbed the peace of the East.

In the commencement of the thirteenth century all the nations of Asia and Europe were alarmed and thrown into a frenzy of apprehension by reports of the rise and march of new hordes of barbarians from the mountains of Asia. "Genghis Khan," who called himself the "scourge of God," gathered under his banner all the scattered tribes of Huns,

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Turks, and Tartars, and commenced those conquests which buried a thousand cities in ruins, depopulated kingdoms, and, in a few years, destroyed the labors of centuries. The armies of the Moguls, under Genghis Khan, swept, with the besom of destruction, from the Indus to the Baltic, and from the Danube to the Nile. By these conquerors the Turks were driven forth from Persia, and found a refuge from the storm in the Greek Empire. The passage of the Euphrates, by this crowd of fugitive warriors, in the year 1240, was a memorable event;—one of those historic incidents when, in a single day, the destiny of kingdoms and races is settled for many ages. The passage of the great river was signalized by the death of the Turkish king, Soliman Shah, who, in the haste, fell into the waters and perished. They stood upon one shore, dispirited, broken and scattered; they landed upon the other as the destined conquerors of the Greek Empire, and the lords of the fairest regions of the world. To Othman, the grandson of Soliman Shah, properly belongs the glory of founding the Ottoman Empire. This great man, with the genius of a warrior, and the foresight of a statesman, laid permanently the foundations of that power which subsequently became a terror to Christendom. But the fall of the Greek Empire, and the triumph of the faith of Mahomet, was averted for more than a century by the religious frenzy of Europe. Millions, impelled by the wildest enthusiasm, hastened from their business, enjoyments, and homes, to humble the enemies of the cross, and to drive from the Holy Land the profane feet that insulted the sepulchre of Jesus. The chivalry, the pride, and military discipline of Europe, overcame the greatest obstacles which have ever opposed success and victory. But a long struggle of one hundred and fifty years only taught the Turk the art of war, and bound together tribes which would have been otherwise separated by the ambition of chiefs and the desire of rapine. The Crusaders exhausted the wealth and energy of Europe, and the Greek Empire was left, without help, to fall into the arms of the enemies of Christianity. At this time, the fame of Turkish power filled the world with alarm; everything yielded to the

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fervid, enthusiasism, and discipline of the Ottoman armies.

In the year 1396 was fought the celebrated battle of Nicopolis. Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, met in the field a brilliant army of French and Hungarians under the command of Sigismund. The Christians were defeated, with immense slaughter, and the way was opened into the heart of Germany and Italy. And an attack of the gout only prevented the fulfillment of the threat which the Sultan sent to the trembling Pope—"That he would conquer Rome and feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter's." "An acrimonious humour falling on the fibre of one man may prevent, or suspend, the misery of nations."

At this hour, the ambitious plans of Bajazet were defeated by the appearance, on the Euphrates, of Tamerlane and his myriads of Moguls; and the defeat and captivity of Bajazet suspended for fifty years the fall of Constantinople. But the Empire of the Moguls melted away with the death of Tamerlane, and the military spirit of the Ottomans revived. In the year 1453, Constantinople was invested by the Turkish army under Mahomet the Second. The divisions and supineness of Christian nations left the Emperor without support; and, after a heroic struggle on his part, the city was taken, and after being for eleven hundred and twenty-seven years the capital of the Roman Empire, became the throne city of the rival and foe of Christian civilization. Too late, the fall of Constantinople produced a profound impression upon the Christian world.

Constantinople, with its historic prestige, gave a magnificent capital to the vast Empire of the Turks, and commanding as they now did the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, and the Eastern Mediterranean, the Sultans added to their dominions the celebrated Isles of Rhodes, Candia and Cyprus; conquered Egypt and nearly all the countries in Europe drained by the waters of the Danube. At this period certainly not less than seventy millions of the human race submitted to the despotic sway of the Grand Sultan. The golden age of the Ottoman Empire was the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, who was cotemporary with Charles the Fifth, Francis the First, and Henry the Eighth,

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and displayed as great talent as any of those illustrious men in the field and council-chamber. But the genius of the Turks was essentially military—they had no taste or capacity for the arts of peace, and could not take their place with those nations who bore in their institutions and character the germs of progress and civilization. In certain heroic attributes, such as scorn of death and personal valor, the Turk was second to no other man—but to conquer was all his aim. He encouraged no school of learning; he opened no new paths for commerce; he threw up no highways for trade, nor spanned rivers with bridges. He erected everywhere trophies and triumphal arches commemorating the victories of wars, but reared no where the monuments of peace.

Since the battle of Lepanto, in the days of Philip the Second of Spain, in which the Turkish power was broken, there has been in the Ottoman kingdom the signs of a constantly increasing weakness and decay.

It may be interesting, after thus tracing the rise of this power, to seek after those causes which have contributed to palsy its strength and to deprive it of its glory.

First and principal of all those causes of decay is Mohammedanism.

This religion, unlike all others which have exerted a controling influence on the globe, is not the growth of ages, of tradition and ceremony, but is the work of a single man—and he a poor, illiterate camel driver in the Arabian desert.

The Koran is the holy book of the Mohammedan world, and professes to have the same relation to the Gospel that the New Testament has to the Old—the last and fullest revelation of the will of God. Mahomet was, no doubt, familiar with the Bible—especially with the Old Testament—and he has gathered into the Koran many of the narratives and moral teachings of revelation. The Koran contains many sublime and noble truths, such as the unity of God, his absolute sovereignty over all creatures and events, his ever-wakeful providence, his retributive justice. It enjoins the most unhesitating obedience to the divine will, patience in trial, charity to the poor, the love of parents.

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It enjoins the destruction of idols, and prohibits all the forms of idolatry. It commands frequent fastings and prayer five times a day.

These truths, and the stirring events of the times, gave a high moral grandeur to many of the early followers of Mahomet—such as Omer Ali Hassien and Abou Beker; these and many others exhibited traits of character commendable and excellent. They were heroes in battle, unrivalled in victory, and patient in defeat. They were without any of the arrogance of power; charitable and devout. But these were virtues which were evidently not the fruits of Mohammedanism, but brought from the Christian tree, and grafted into the wild olive of the desert. Even now we find amongst the Turks many of the most exalted sentiments of piety, evidently foreign to their character of sensualism, pride and selfishness. These glitter like precious gems amid the rubbish of superstition and barbarism, reminding one of the singular and wonderful spectacle beheld in some of the forests of India, where we see the polished stones, fluted marble pillars, highly adorned capitals and friezes of ancient temples, in the midst of the branches of great trees which sprang upon their ruins. Thus we see in the Mussulmen of to-day many magnificent fragments of ancient civilization and Christianity. But only as the conqueror and martial hero has the Turk made any progress. He has remained immovable for ages. We have in all the lands over which the Mohammedan faith extended, the phenomenon of a people, preserving through hundreds of years, the attitudes, manners, customs, opinions, and costumes of their fathers. We enter a mosque of worship, and those who pass beyond its veiled entrance, remove the slipper from the foot, turn the face to the east, bow seven times, repeating in a low wail, "Allah is great; there is none greater than Allah;" and at length fall upon their faces. This form, without the slightest change in voice or manner, they use five times a day, and from their childhood to their grave, they never vary in the least the words and ceremonies of their worship. This, together with the intense fatalism of the Koran, stamps upon the Mussulman

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a character stern and changeless. Believing that every event and circumstance is unalterably fixed, that from the Divine predestination there is no appeal, the entire people sink into a languid indifference and stoicism. And when defeated in battle, when shipwrecked, when condemned to die, when perishing with hunger, or when seated amid the ruins of a home destroyed by earthquakes, they bow the head and exclaim, "Allah is great, Allah is good, Allah has willed it." Hence the Turks never commit suicide, or mourn for the dead. Instances are common of persons who were once in the greatest affluence, being reduced to begging, and yet never shedding a tear or uttering a murmur. A few years since could be seen, seated on a mat in the streets of Constantinople, selling fruit, a man, who was at one time the Grand Vizier of the Sultan, and possessing a princely revenue; but, driven from power, he submitted to his fate with the utmost patience. When reminded of his former grandeur and present poverty, he said, "Allah exalted me, and he abased me, his will be done." When the plague or cholera lights upon their cities, the Mohammedans will refuse medical aid, and give themselves up to die. Even the wailing wives of the sick will drive the physician from their door with the cry, "Are you wiser and better than Allah?" This fatalism enters as a virus into all life, palsies the nerve of exertion, and justifies every failure, and withholds from the mind the motives of improvement. All intelligent and observing travelers unite in saying that an air of gloom and decay pervades all Turkey. The people have the look of those who feel that the game of life is played out. In the midst of all the activity, life and stir of the Crimean war, the Turk sat still and hopeless, loathing all the details of business, without capacity for prolonged exertion and far-seeing plans, he was a child in the presence of Frenchmen and Englishmen. The highest officers of the Empire were mere pawns upon the chess-board. When the national heart beats so languidly, when a deadly malaria hangs over the whole realm, when fatalism and despotism poison all the springs of life, all efforts to elevate Turkey, to reform abuses, and to plant the germs of a new life are

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hopeless. In the presence of the great civilized powers of Europe, Turkey excites pity for her weakness and contempt for her vices. She is a loathsome leper in the council-chamber of kings; for her maladies there is no balm. Another thing of great moment in relation to the future of Turkey, is that the government is faulty and vicious beyond belief. According to the theory of the Turkish government, the Grand Sultan reigns as the descendant of the prophet, he is recognized as ruling by a divine right, and holds in his hands the lives and property of his subjects. The Koran being the law of the land, and all decisions, civil and ecclesiastical, being derived from the teachings of the sacred book, the Sultan unites in himself the offices of priest, judge and sovereign. Some of these powers the Sultans have delegated to the *Ulemas*. The order of the Ulemas forms a very powerful body in the state, and have often controlled the Sultans and ruled with unbroken sway. The Ulemas are the ministers of religion and law. The ministers of religion and the lawyers form but one order, but are divided into two classes—one devoted to the services of the mosques, and the other to the courts of justice. While the judges are all priests, the priests are not all judges. In order to enter this body, ten or twelve years must be spent in study; and then after examination the first degree is given in the sacred college. This degree is monlatzin; he who has passed it is entitled to hold the office of cadi, or judge, of a province. After seven more years spent in study, he may be elevated to receive the degree of doctor. There are still two higher degrees in the college of the Ulemas; and it requires the study of twenty or more years, and great self-denial, before one can hope to take his seat in the highest offices of state. At the head of the Ulemas is the "Shiek el Islam," or the Grand Mufti, who is the Premier of the Empire. The students of the college are called "Softas," or Scorched—because burning with zeal for knowledge. They are a powerful and numerous class—twenty thousand being in Constantinople, eight or ten thousand in Cairo, and probably one hundred thousand in other cities of the Empire. Everywhere they are most fanatical, turbulent, and savage; often

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exciting to religious insurrections and murders, and even threatening the Sultan, if unfaithful to the Koran or violating any of the principles of Islamism. This body of the Ulemas, possessing nearly all the talent and learning of the country, firmly compacted together by interest and power, constitutes a hierarchy of immense influence and are the main and only firm pillar of the state. Their power is greatly increased by the fact, that one-third of all the lands of the Empire belongs to them, and is exempted from taxation. At the conquest one-third of all the landed property was given to the Mosques; this has been increased by purchases and legacies, until nearly one-half of all the landed estates of the country are in the possession of the Ulemas. From their wealth and power this body of men have the strongest motives to oppose all reforms and every step taken toward European civilization. Proud and vain, like all learned men in the East, they despise the ignorant, common people, and throw every possible obstacle in the way of freedom, education and change. From the decisions of these men, in the courts of justice, there is no appeal. Every judge, from the highest to the lowest, is open to bribery; hence, however clear and just a man's suit may be, he can never obtain a decision in his favor, unless aided by wealth or powerful friends; indeed, his case cannot be brought before the court, without bribing all the servants of the judges and the inferior officers. Justice in the Turkish Empire is the most empty of mockeries. The judges claim one-fortieth of the value of the property in litigation as their perquisite; and he who gains the suit invariably pays all the costs of the trial. It is thus very easy for the most prosperous and honest of men to be ruined by an enemy. All that has to be done, is to trump up an account against him of one hundred thousand piastres: the expenses of a defence would ruin him. In this way, many Armenian converts have been reduced to poverty; their enemies will make out false accounts against them, and the expense of trial and judgment in their favor beggars them. The natural consequence of this corruption of judges and courts is, that all the merchants, and citizens, and wealthy agriculturists place themselves

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under the protection of Pashas, Governors, Consuls. or Foreign Ministers, or the Mosques, and no man of property is safe without such guardianship.

Again, these wealthy men will have poorer persons, who will take hold of their skirts, and all alike hide themselves under the wing of a man of power, and attempt to escape from the exactions and oppressions of those in office. Every department of government is alike corrupt and ruinous in its working. The writer of this article came down from Constantinople to Smyrna on an Austrian steamer. On this vessel there were many pilgrims for Jerusalem and Mecca. Among the passengers were two Turkish Governors on their way to the provinces of Houran and Homs, near Damascus. They were grave, silent, stern men, holding little intercourse with any of our fellow-travelers. They had with them a vast retiuue of servants and eunuchs; and their harem, each containing fifteen wives. The older women were permitted to wander about the decks with the children. The younger wives were secluded with the most anxious care. With each of these Governors was an Armenian banker of Constantinople. Between these there was the kindest relations; they would sit together for hours, smoke each others' pipes, and, at long intervals, exchange a few languid words. The things which mutually interested these men were few. The Turk was dreaming of a gorgeous palace on the Bosphorus, and of the pleasure of wealth and power. The Armenian, keen and wakeful, was counting his interest, and devising the means for a closer shave. There was on board an eminent Scotch merchant, who had been for twenty years a resident of the East. Long familiar with the languages, manners and customs, I gathered from him the history of the Governors and the secret of their familiar relations with the Armenian bankers.

These Governors were distinguished Turks, who had purchased from the Sultan at Constantinople the government of the provinces, to which they were on their way. They had each paid one hundred thousand piastres for the privilege of ruling these provinces for four years. The money they had borrowed from these Armenian bankers,

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and paid them twenty or thirty per cent. The banker accompanied the Governor as his secretary and financial agent. The plan and aim of the Governors was, in the four years of office, to make, by robbery, exaction and oppression, sufficient to repay the banker, and likewise to build a magnificent palace on the Bosphorus. Thus, to make himself a name, and rear a monument of his wealth, is the fondly cherished scheme of all Turkish Governors. When fairly established in their provinces, every method would be taken to wring from the people their goods and money. If the inhabitants of the villages came, complaining that the men of another nation had laid waste their fields and murdered some of their citizens, no ear would hear them until a bag of gold was sent to his Highness; and when the head men of the offending village were arrested and thrown into prison, they could not be heard until a considerable sum of money was made up and sent as a present to the Governor. When the parties were assembled in the presence of the Governor, he heard them, with no intention of arriving at the truth, but in order to learn who would or could pay most. If the accused could make up the largest purse they were acquitted.

If the bridges of a certain stream were swept away, and all travel stopped, the inhabitants of the villages along the road are taxed beyond endurance to rebuild them, and a sum far greater than is needful will be secured; but the bridge is never done. The Governors uniformly surround themselves with the most heartless race of ruffians, who with blows, stripes, and imprisonment drive the people to madness. To escape such rule, many of the inhabitants will arise and flee into other lands, or give up in despair and lie down and die, while a multitude prolong their wretched existence by begging. The melancholy spectacle is presented to us of the most beautiful and fertile lands being depopulated.

In ascertaining the causes which have tended to produce the present decay and weakness of the Turkish Empire, we ought not to lose sight of the important social feature, that within its limits there are nations and races widely separated

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from each other, without a single bond of union. The Christian population of Turkey is not less than fifteen millions of the thirty-six millions of its people. The Christian nations who were conquered in the fall of the Greek Empire were permitted to retain, to some extent, their lands and institutions. They have borne the yoke with impatience and anger, and constantly hope and pray for the time when the power of their oppressor shall be broken. Of these races the most powerful and numerous is the Greek; they number twelve millions, and are found in all the cities and provinces of the realm. They are more active, adroit, and intelligent than the Turks. They have been demoralized by ages of oppression, and by the superstition of their church and the ignorance of their priests, and are generally unscrupulous, vain, and false, but more practical and industrious than the Turks; the Greeks are the merchants and masters of vessels, and wealthy agriculturalists. The Greek Church is encumbered and paralyzed by the superstitions and forms gathered in ages of ignorance. It in many respects bears a most striking resemblance to the Roman Catholic Church. The Virgin is worshiped, the saints are adored, the pictures, the lights burning by day, the bowings and chantings, the censor waved before the priest, all remind one of like scenes in Roman Catholic Churches. But, in many respects, the Greek Church is more open to reform and improvement than is the Latin Church. It permits the reading of the Scriptures, but teaches that they are to be interpreted by tradition. It rejects the doctrines of indulgences, but commands confession, and inflicts penances and confers absolution through the priest. It rejects the doctrine of purgatory, but offers prayers for the repose of the dead, and attaches great efficacy to relics, pictures, the sacraments, and the sign of the cross. The Greek Church allows the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of the clergy. It is not the tremendous, spiritual despotism, thoroughly systematized in doctrine and discipline, which we find in the Roman Catholic Church.

The Greek priests, though ignorant, arrogant, and avaricious, have great influence over the people, and keep alive

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the hatred of Turkish rule. The Russians are in the communion of the Greek Church. The savage tribes, who were known in the ninth century as the Russ, received Christian teachers from Constantinople; hence the conversion of the Russians to the faith of the Greek Church.

In the weakness and decline of Turkish power it was natural that the hopes of the Greeks should revive; and they look abroad for assistance in regaining their independence. This hope Russia in a thousand ways nourished and fanned. Monasteries were endowed and enriched in Palestine and Syria by Russian charity. All the Greek priests received vestments and gold from the Czar and the Empress. Russian embassadors, consuls, and officials were instructed by every possible means to propitiate the Greek clergy and people.

At length was put forth the demand on the part of the Emperor, "that he should be the protector of the Greeks." In the train of such protection would have followed the absolute independence of the people of Turkey professing the Greek faith. There would have been stationed in all the principal cities of the Empire a strong Russian force. The Sultan would have been a mere puppet in the hands of the Czar. To have yielded this would have been to confess to the world that Turkey was disorganized and the Sultan a shadow. The Czar professed that his aim was religious and the advance of Christianity. He, therefore, claimed to be the "defender and restorer of sacred places." He demanded the privilege of rebuilding the broken and ruined churches, and relighting the lamps at the deserted shrines.

An occasion occurred for urging these claims, and of giving all the force of precedent to theory.

When the writer of this article stood under the dome of the great church of the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem, a distinguished Scotch missionary, resident in the holy city, lifted his finger toward the dome and pointed to a few straggling sunbeams which came in through a small opening in the dome, and said, "Behold the cause of the Crimean war!" One of the tiles had fallen off, and the sun streamed

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in on marble and pictures, and the drops of the rain-storm fell on the tomb.

It was necessary to repair the broken place. The Emperor of Russia, at the head of the Greek Church, and the "restorer of sacred places," claimed that the right was his. All the Greeks seconded his demand. The Russian Minister at the sublime Porte brought the matter to the notice of the Sultan and his ministers. France, always jealous of Russia, and anxious to propitiate the Roman Catholics, resisted, with all her influence, this claim, and denounced this on the part of Nicholas as insulting to the Sultan, and to those Christian powers who had an interest in the preservation of the sacred places. The contest waxed violent. The pretensions of Russia became greater and more arrogant; and it became plain that the Eastern question could not be settled without an appeal to arms.

Believing that the hour had come for the dethronement of the Sultan, and for the Russian scepter to be stretched over all other lands, the Emperor precipitated the war by the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope.

In the long struggle that followed, Russia was defeated, and Nicholas, in all probability, died by poison or suicide, preferring death to the shame of an ignominious peace. In this war Turkey displayed to the civilized world her poverty and weakness, and the hideous deformities of a barbarian, Mohammedan rule.

The hope of the Greek was not realized, but still he remained in the land as hostile to the government as ever; and the Emperor of Russia has twelve millions of sworn, earnest, and faithful friends amongst the subjects of the Sultan; and it is said he still dreams that the deeper decay of Turkey, the changes and revolutions of Europe, will permit him to leave the frozen waters of the Neva, and establish his throne in the magnificent scenes and sunny regions of the Bosphorus. Certainly the only check to Russian ascendancy is the jealousy of France and England. It is the manifest policy of these two great nations not to permit Russia to become so colossal in power that she could at any hour crush the liberty of Europe. It is, in order to prevent this,

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the policy of these two great states to preserve, as long as possible, the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

But the hour of her doom hastens, and even England and France cannot long uphold such a mighty fabric tottering to its fall. No reforms nor changes induced from without can reach the radical vices of the Empire. All movements of the kind are but the galvanic spasm imparted to the muscles of the dead. In the meantime, we have reason to rejoice that handfulls of corn have been planted in many places in the land. The germs of freedom, civilization, and Christianity are formed in the institutions retained by many of the Christian races in Turkey; and if the land can be preserved from the grasp of Russia, many free states will spring out of the ashes of decay.

If the political future of Turkey is uncertain, it is not all dark. No region of the world gives greater encouragement to the Christian missionary. The Spirit of God moves upon the face of the deep and scatters the darkness. Mahommedanism has been weighed in the balances and found wanting; and the wise men of the East again look for the Redeemer of the world. A people so devout and religiously reverent cannot become skeptical and atheistic. They must have a faith which shall satisfy their wants and aspirations. We find even now thousands who have lost all confidence in the mission of Mahomet, and are convinced of the religion of the Gospel. Of such, great numbers have left their mosques and become earnest inquirers after the better way. The spirit of inquiry is likewise manifest amongst all the ancient Christian sects and races. The great revival of our times is not confined to the West: but, as we look to the East, there is a great shaking in the valley of vision.

May the hope of the church soon be realized, and the waste places of many generations be rebuilt, and the desert bud and blossom as the rose.

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Article VI.—Turrettin's Works. Part xv. On Calling and Faith. Question 1st.

What is Calling, and how manifold; and how do external and internal Calling differ?

1. Hitherto we have spoken of the office of Christ; now we must treat concerning his benefits, which pertain to the application of the acquired salvation to us, which is commenced in grace here and consummated in glory in the heavens. Of these the first is calling—not special to some office, whether political or sacred, in which sense Paul everywhere declares himself to be an Apostle, (Rom. i. 1)—but general to salvation. How great the excellence of this benefit must be, appears even from hence, that the Church herself has obtained her name not elsewhere than from *klasai*, or calling, and is nothing else than the assembly of the called.

2. This calling is an act of the grace of God in Christ, by which he calls men dead in sins and lost in Adam, by the preaching of the gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit, to the enjoyment of communion with Christ, and salvation in him.

In this the two termini are to be considered, viz: That from which, and that to which, men are called. The terminus *from which*, is the state of sin and damnation in which they live, (Eph. ii. 1) darkness, (Eph. v, 8, 1st Peter ii. 9) the world (John xv. 19) and what things are behind, that is, earthly and worldly, (Phil. iii. 13). The terminus *to which*, to the communion of Christ, (1 Cor. i. 9) holiness, (Rom. i. 7, 1st Cor. i. 2, 1st Thess. iv. 7) marvellous light, (1st Peter ii. 9) the kingdom of God, (1st Thess. ii. 15)

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eternal glory in Christ, (1st Peter v. 10) and eternal life, (1 Tim. vi. 12).

3. Hence, it is sometimes called a holy calling, (2d Tim. i. 7) not only by reason of its origin, because God, the author of calling, is holy, (1st Peter i. 15) but also by reason of its end, because it tends to holiness. And sometimes it is called a heavenly calling (Heb. iii. 1) and a high calling, (Phil. iii. 14) because it is from heaven and calls to heaven, with allusion to the Olympic games, in which not only was the prize suspended over the goal, but the contenders ran below, and were crowned in a higher place, where the judges and superintendents sat, from whence, by the voice of a crier, they stimulated the runners to their course.

4. If it be inquired, why the Holy Spirit should have willed to use this phraseology to describe this work, a manifold reason can be returned. 1. To designate the mis ery of man, because being separate and far removed from God by sin, he was to be called back from his errors that he might return to God, in the same manner that God seeks and calls Adam fleeing, "O Adam, where art thou?" 2. To denote the means which God employs in order to convert men, that is, the voice of the gospel and the preaching of the Word. No means could be granted more suitable and appropriate to a rational being than this, as man, who is a reasonable creature, should be addressed by the Word. 3. To exhibit the various aspects under which calling can be viewed. Either it can be viewed as a certain new creation in which God calls those things which be not as though they were, (Rom. iv. 17) by bringing us out of the nothing of sin into life, and shining into our hearts in the same manner in which he once commanded the light to shine out of darkness, (2d Cor. iv. 6) or as a wonderful resurrection, in which we are called by the omnipotent voice of Christ, that we may rise from our sins, (Eph. i. 20; ii. 5) in the same manner as when Christ by His voice aroused Lazarus from the tomb, "Lazarus come forth;" and the dead shall be raised on the last day by hearing the voice of Christ, (John

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v. 25;) or it can be viewed as the highest dignity of the sons of God, and the glorious office to which we are called in the communion of Christ, even as dignities and offices are, by calling, accustomed to be conferred on men in the world; or as the course and race set before us as that which we must run, (Phil. iii. 14, Heb. xii. 1) even as the runners in the Olympic games were wont to be called to their course by the voice of a crier, that they might strive from the starting place to the goal.

5. This calling however, is variously distinguished by different persons. By some, it is said to be threefold; real by works, verbal by the gospel, and spiritual by the spirit. The first is that which is extended to all men, and to every individual in the world; the second, that which is restricted to be called in the church; the third, that which is peculiar to elect and faithful alone. But it is gratuitously supposed that a calling to salvation is given by the works of nature. This we have previously confuted.

6. Hence, we recognize a twofold calling, viz., external and internal, in accordance with the twofold state of the church, visible and invisible. The former is that which takes place only by the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, which are the external means of the application and calling; but the latter, in addition to this, by the internal and omnipotent power of the Holy Spirit. The former is that which merely knocks at the ears of the body; the latter, that which also opens the heart. That exerts itself only objectively; this, also, operates effectively. That exhorts morally; this, also, convinces and draws efficaciously.

7. They agree, indeed, in various respects; as, first, on the part of God calling; because each has God as its author, who calls men into his kingdom. Then on the part of the men called, who are both, as to internal qualities, dead and lost in sin; and, as to external, weak, and in a great part, foolish and ignoble, (1st Cor. i. 21). Again, on the part of the instrument, which on both hands is ordinarily the Word. And, finally, on the part of the end, which is the

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glory of God and the salvation of the called. But, though they thus agree, yet in many respects they differ. 1st, They differ in respect to the author. Because, in external calling, God acts only imperatively, by requiring duty from man, but not granting the power to perform it; but, in internal, he also acts efficaciously by supplying, with the command of duty, the power to execute it, and by working inwardly what he enjoins outwardly. 2d. They differ by reason of mode—the former takes place through the word only; the latter also through the spirit. 3d. By reason of the extent, the former is of many, the latter of few; many are called, few chosen. The former is more ample, which is extended even to the reprobate living in the Church. In this sense, the gospel is compared to a threshing-floor which contains chaff with the wheat, and to a net which collects good and bad fishes, (Matt. xiii. 47.) The latter is co-extensive with election, as it is its effect;—it is, therefore, said to be a calling (*kata prothesin*) according to the purpose of God, (Rom. viii. 28) in which they elect all, and they alone are called. 4th. They differ by reason of the issue; the former always remains ineffectual; the latter is effectual, and certainly obtains its end. "Whosoever hath heard, and hath learned of the father, cometh unto me." 5th, They differ in respect of duration; the former is temporal and revocable, as apppears in transient professors and apostates who return to their vomit; but the latter is immutable and without repentance, (Rom. xi. 29.) That constitutes the visible and external communion of the Church in the profession of religion and the use of the sacraments; this, the invisible and internal in faith and charity. From that the saints are named equivocally, but from this properly and unequivocally.

8. A question here is agitated by our opponents in regard to the distinction of this twofold calling: whether internal and effectual calling should be distinguished from external only—a posteriori, and from the result, or also a priori—by reason of the Divine will and decree, and of the nature of calling itself. For the Lutherans think internal

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and external calling to be one and the same on the part of the thing itself, so that all externally called are also internally called. But, being asked how it comes that external calling is effectual in one and not in another? they answer, that this arises from the will of man. The Arminians explain the point still more clearly, that calling is effectual in some and not in others, not because God operates more in the latter, but because the good will of man superadds the efficacy, and because these by virtue of their liberty admit the word which the others reject. But the orthodox do not suspend this difference upon the free will of man, and reckon it from the result only; but they seek it from the very decree of God, from the nature of calling, and the difference of subjective grace, which operates far more effectually in some than in others.

9. The reasons are: 1st. Because internal calling is according to a purpose, which therefore depends upon the decree of God, and is eternal and without repentance, (Rom. viii. 28, and xi. 29.) It is not, therefore, effectual merely from the result. 2. Because the result itself depends upon nothing else than the very decree of God, who directs the calling so powerfully, that it necessarily obtains the proper result in those who were elected, (Acts xiii. 48). "As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed." 3d. Because otherwise man would make himself to differ contrary to Paul, (1 Cor. iv. 7). "Who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou which thou hast not received?" Nor would it be of God only that showeth mercy, but of man that willeth and runneth, (Rom. ix. 16). "Though God, notwithstanding, works in us both to will and to do, (Phil. ii. 13). What is here replied by our opponents will be considered when we treat of the efficacy of calling in the following questions.

10. Calling, again, is accustomed to be distinguished into ordinary and mediate, and extraordinary and immediate. The former is that which God employs in the ordinary dispensation of his grace. It takes place through the intervention of outward means or the ministry of men. But the

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latter is that which is accustomed to take place, out of course in respect of certain individuals, whom God immediately and by himself, and without the intervention of men, calls to himself and converts, as is evident in regard to the thief, Paul and others called immediately by God.

SHORT NOTICES.

I. THOUGHTS ON PREACHING; being Contributions to Homiletics. By James W. Alexander, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. 12mo., pp. 514.

We have always admired one trait in the character of the late Dr. Alexander, the author of this book. He was an enthusiast in his profession. He counted no work higher than that of a true preacher of Christ. He gave himself, especially in his latter years, wholly to his work, feeling that his office was worthy of the largest powers of mind and the noblest affections of the heart. His was emphatically a labor of love. For a long time he had cherished a desire to prepare a volume on Homiletics for the use of young ministers and students, and it is to be greatly regretted that he did not live to accomplish his purpose. But with such a work in view he had long been accustomed to jot down such thoughts as might occur to him. The volume before us contains in a collected form the paragraphs on this subject which have been found in his journals. It also contains

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several articles on the same topic contributed by him to the *Princeton Review;* a series of letters addressed to young ministers, published in the *Presbyterian;* and also a few paragraphs on miscellaneous topics connected with ministerial life and experience. It is no doubt far from what it would have been had the work been prepared by the author himself with his accumulated experience; yet as it is we believe that it will be highly prized by the class for whom it is especially intended. Though Dr. Alexander was not a great original thinker, he was what is better, independent and judicious. He was familiar beyond most of his day with the literature of this subject, and his experience as one who tried all methods, and his observation as one who had rare opportunities, alike fitted him for being a Gamaliel to young preachers.

We cannot, perhaps, do better than furnish our readers with some of his thoughts. He repeatedly insists on the importance of dwelling on the great subjects of the pulpit, precisely those topics that have most engrossed the attention of all great preachers. Here is a paragraph from his journal on *Themes for Preaching.*

"They should be great themes—*the* great themes. These are many. They are such as move the feelings. The great questions which have agitated the world—which agitate our own bosoms—which we should like to have settled before we die—which we should ask an Apostle about if we were here. These are to general Scripture truth, what great mountains are in Geography. Some, anxious to avoid hackneyed topics, omit the greatest. Just as if we should describe Switzerland and omit the Alps.

"Some ministers preach twenty years, and yet never preach on Judgment, Hell, the Crucifixion, the essence of Saving Faith—nor on those great themes which in all ages affect children, and affect the common mind, such as the Deluge, the sacrifice intended of Isaac, the death of Absalom, the parable of Lazarus. The Methodists constantly pick out these striking themes, and herein they gain a just advantage over us.

"A man should begin early to grapple with great subjects. An athlete (2 Tim. ii. 5) gains might only by great exertions. So that a man does not overstrain his powers, the more he

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wrestles the better, but he *must* wrestle, and not merely take a great subject and dream over it or play with it.

"Evil of seeking new and recondite subjects. All the great subjects are old and often treated. False refinement and wire drawing. Anlaogy of the great sculptors and painters. Many took the same themes. Greek tragedians. No two men will treat the same subject alike, unless they borrow from one another."

There is danger with all preachers of running into the habit of self-repetition. On this point we have the following judicious counsel:

The only remedy for this evil is the obvious one of devoting the mind to the origination of new trains of thought, which may vary, complete, or supersede the old ones. There may be superficial reflection and even superficial writing; but the meditation which is intended must go deeply into thorough investigation, and follow out the thoughts into new relations. It must be the habit of the preacher to be continually opening new veins, and deeply considering subjects allied to those on which he is to preach. This habit is greatly aided by judicious reading on theological topics. A man will be as his books. But of all means none is so effectual as the perpetual study of the Scriptures. Let a man be interested in them day and night, continually laboring in this mine, and, whether he write or not, he will be effectually secured against self-repetition. There is such profundity, comprehensiveness and variety in the Word of God, that it is a library in itself. There is such freshness in its mode of presenting the truth, that he who is perfectly conversant with it can scarcely be dull.

The liveliest preachers are those who are most familiar with the Bible, without note or comment; and we frequently find them among men who have had no education better than that of the common school. As there is no poetry so rich and bold as that of the Bible, so he who daily makes this his study, will even on human principles be awakened and acquire a striking manner of conveying his thoughts. The sacred books are full of fact, example and illustration, which, with copiousness and variety will cluster around the truth which the man of God derives from the same source. One preacher gives us noted heads of theology; they are true, scriptural, and important, but they are uninteresting, especially when reiterated for the thousandth time in the same naked manner. Another gives us the same truths, but

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each of them brings in its train a retinue of Scriptural example, history, a figure by way of illustration; and a variety hence arises which is perpetually becoming richer as the preacher goes more deeply into the mine of Scripture. There are some great preachers who, like Whitefield, do not appear to bestow great labor on the preparation of particular discourses; but it may be observed, that these are always persons whose life is a study of the Word. Each sermon is an outflowing from a fountain which is constantly full. The Bible is, after all, the one book of the preacher. He who is most familiar with it, will become most like it; and this in respect to every one of its wonderful qualities; and will bring forth from his treasures things *new* and old.

We wish that every young minister and student may read the volume. Scarce a page will fail to suggest valuable ideas. While we would not agree with Dr. Alexander in some minor things, we are sure that none can read his thoughts without being stimulated to greater exertions in the ministerial work. We are glad to find him strongly advocating delivery, without notes or manuscript, and the expository method—two things always held in high estimation in our denomination.

II. SINAI AND ZION; or, a Pilgrimage through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise. By Benjamin Bausman. With Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1861. 12mo., pp. 543.

The author of this book, a minister of the German Reformed Church in Chambersburg, Pa., made a tour to Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria. We think the author chose wisely when he concluded to give us a book of a popular, rather than a critical character, for we are better supplied with the latter than the former class of books on the lands of the Bible. He has availed himself,—as indeed he was bound to do—of the researches and discourses of such writers as Dr. Robinson, Lieutenant Lynch, Dr. Thompson, A. P. Stanley, Lane, Wilkinson, Curzon, W. Rae Wilson, Bonar, &c.; while at the same time he gives us in a very clear and life-like manner, his own impressions of what

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he saw. We quote his description of a Turkish bath in Damascus.

"The Mahommedans regard bathing as a religious duty. To the thoroughness of their baths I can testify from experience. Calling at a prominent bathing establishment one morning, I was led into a large hall. A lofty dome, painted with trees, cottages, and gushing springs, rose over the fountain and reservoir in the centre. Led upon an elevated platform, my clothing had to give place to a set of towels, and the head was enveloped in a heavy thick cloth. Thrusting my feet into clogs six inches high—simply a wooden sole on two board props—I stalked away over the slippery marble floor like a prisoner, with a man at each arm. The pavement was so smooth, that I felt like a man first learning to skate. Every successive room grew hotter until the vapory heat brought profuse prespiration from every pore. Finally I was set on the smooth floor beside a pool of water, which was poured on the head in large buckets full, and felt hot enough to scald the skin off. Then a lank, muscular grey-bearded Syrian laid me down and set to scraping me with something like a fine fuller's card, turning and rolling me over without much ceremony. After pouring a tub-full of soap-suds over me, his brawny hands performed the squashing operation of a rubbing process, not even excepting the face. This ordeal ended, I was arrayed in dry strips of linen, escorted back to where I started from, and passed into new hands, muffled in a new set of towels, and laid on a mattress. Here a fellow took me through a kneading process, an operation which would most certainly relieve the most hide-bound being. This done he cracked the joints, nothing short of a crack would do, which sometimes required no little twisting. Toes, knee-joints, hips, shoulders, elbows, wrists, fingers—he did not venture to twist the neck—all had to submit to a torture. And, to cap the climax, he must rasp the soles of the feet with the rough surface of an iron scraper. I bit my lips with stoical submission, and resolved to endure, while the rogue looked up with a grinning smile, but still rasped on.

"Rolled into a dry sheet, I was then laid on a divan, and while resting from their well-meant tortures, as a special favor, they brought me a glass of sherbet—a kind of ice-lemonade—but the pipe had positively to be withheld during Ramadan. Then only I began to feel the charming effects of the operation. A sense of fresh, buoyant life seemed to enter at every pore. It is quite natural that,

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after such a scalding, fulling, lathering, kneading, joint-cracking, bone stretching operation, one should feel as if he had never been clean before."

Mr. Bausman makes very favorable mention of the labors of our missionaries in Egypt and Syria, and gratefully acknowledges their brotherly attentions to him. Those who wish to make a pleasant tour through the countries named, while sitting at their fire-sides, cannot do better than to read this volume.

III. BIBLICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN, in continuation of the work of Olshausen. With an Appendix on the Catholic Epistles, and an Introductory Essay on the Life and Writings of St. John. By Dr. John H. A. Ebrard. Translated by Rev. W. B. Pope, Manchester. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1860. 8vo., pp. xxxii. and 423. For sale by Messrs. Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia.

This is a learned and critical work, one of the best German works we have consulted. It goes thoroughly into all the questions concerning the life and writings of John the Apostle. As a specimen of his views and manner of exposition, we give his remarks on 1 John ii. 2:—"And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."

The nature of this intercession of Christ has its *reason assigned* in verse 2. For, though St. John does not attach verse 2 to verse 1 by *gar*, yet the fact itself shows that verse 2 does give the ground of what is said in verse 1; and by no means, as many say, presents a mere progressive addition—that Christ is not only our advocate, but also Himself the *hilasmos*. For, in truth, the intercession of Christ has lying at its *foundation* the fact that Christ is the *hilasmos*, and this latter fact is by no means appended, as something extraordinary and specific with intercession. Thus, when St. John passes from the one declaration that we have an advocate in Christ, to the other declaration, that He Himself in

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His own person is the propitiation, on the ground of which the intercession rests, he is passing in reality from the result to the cause. He says that Christ's intercession has its basis, not in another's, but in His own propitiatory act. The *kai*, therefore, has the logical meaning of "and that."

The idea *hilasmos* (comp. iv. 10.) does not present any peculiar difficulty. The *hileos einai* of God is the pure antithesis of the orge. The *dikaiosune* of God forms, as we have seen from Romans i. 17, no exclusive antithesis to the *orge*, though it goes far beyond it. Even the *charis*, as such, is one and reconcilable with the orge; for while God, in virtue of the *charis*, had determined the redemption of the fallen human race, he manifests, nevertheless, towards the still unredeemed his orge: yea, it is an element essentially consistent with his grace that should not leave the sinner as such to himself, but should utter *His own*, yea, and a man of fact in the condemning voice of the sinner's conscience. On the other hand, the *hileos einai* is excluded from the *orge*, and then first enters in when the soul has found its propitiated Father. The *hileos einai* is that demonstration of the Divine *charis*, in which it offers itself to be tasted by man in its unconcealed character as *charis* and *eudokia:* it is the positive evidence of the graciousness of God (clementia.) This relation of God towards us men, has been rendered possible by Christ, through his having as a sacrifice offered satisfaction to the *judicial retributive* righteousness of God, and thereby having turned away from man the *orge*, the expression of that judicial righteousness, and thus having manifested that higher *dikaiosune*, (Rom. iii. 26.) Thus did he effect the act of *hilaskesthai*,—Heb. ii. 17, Luke xviii. 3,—(*clementem reddere*) that is, the *hilasmos*. But the Apostle does not say merely that He *accomplished* the *hilasmos*, but that He *Himself* is the *hilasmos*, or propitiation. To give this word the meaning of *hilaster* (Grotius) is inadmissible; and the signification "sin-offering," (Bengel De Wette) is unjustified and unnecessary. "Christ is himself exhibited as the propitiation because that exists actually in his own proper person," (Düsterdieck.) Because that propitiation was not generally a mere individual act, which

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might be considered as separate from Him, but he was with his whole being and life no other than the personal present propitiation; and because, finally, this act accomplished in himself is still a reality, for even continuing its effect in His person, (comp. 1st Cor. i. 30, John xiv. 5, Heb. x. 20.)

He is the propitiation (not the atonement, which is *katallage*, and modifies the idea,) *peri ton hamartion hemon.* This says nothing but what was previously contained in the idea of *hilasmos* itself; for it is already self-evident that we need the *hilasmos*, not in view of (*peri*) our excellence, but in view of our sins. But the Apostle expressly adds these words because they form a preparation for the appended clause: *ou peri ton hemeteron de monon alla kai peri holon tou kosmou.* This *breviloquence*, the words being instead of *peri ton holou tou kosmou*, needs no explanation,—(compare John v. 36.) *What* the Apostle would say by this, is much more plain than *why* he makes the addition. As regards the former question, the antithesis between "us" and "the whole world," cannot be referred, keeping the Ephesian readers in view, to the contrast between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, (*Cyril Œcumenius.*) Nor can it be that between believers and unbelievers as such; as if the Apostle (according to the exposition of Arminian and Lutheran commentator,) purposed to announce the dogma that Christ made satisfaction not merely for the *elect*, but also *sufficienter*, as well as *finaliter*, for the reprobate also—a sentiment which the context shows to have been far from the Apostle's thoughts at this moment. The antithesis must rather be that between the (as yet) little company of those who were already at that time Christians, and the whole human race to which, and as far as to it, the Gospel was yet to be preached. This is essentially the explanation of Calvin and the Reformed expositors; but they also are in error when they restrict the antithesis to those who were already believers, and those who should *become believers* in the future, with express *exclusion* of the reprobate. But the question upon which John would pronounce

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here, is not whether Christ merely *sufficienter*, or also *ferialiter* suffered for all. It is not his aim to define to whom alone the power of the atoning work of Christ extends, but to declare that for no man in the whole world is there any other way of being reconciled than that of the propitiation of Christ. For the whole world is appointed this way of coming to the Father and obtaining peace. This—no more and no less—lies in these words. And thus the second question finds already its answer: the question, to wit, for what purpose St. John adds this reflection. We cannot find in the immediate context anything which would supply an answer to this question; for in verse 3, St. John leaves this subordinate thought, and returns back to the main subject which had been pursued from chapter i. 5, onwards. On the other hand, we shall see hereafter how this apparently fortuitous reference to the universal design of the redeeming work of Christ forms a point of departure for that which St. John has to say in a later section concerning the relation of Christians to the world.

He says that the thought of John in chapter iv. 10, is, *that love, according to its essence, has its source in God's love to us, not in our love to God.* It is in its nature, not a striving upward towards God which proceeds from *man*, but a flame which proceeds from God, and thereby enkindles men. Ebrard's idea of the verse may be thus expressed:—"Herein is love—not (in this) that we loved God, but (in this) that he loved us, and gave his son to be the propitiation for our sins." In regard to the disputed text, (1 John v. 7–8,) he says that "nothing remains but to make the unambiguous confession, that according to all the sources at present in our hands, the clause in dispute is spurious." The exposition of each of the epistles is followed by an original translation, and indexes of "Greek words and phrases," of the "passages of Scripture incidently illustrated or explained," and of "principal matters," close the volume. We should further say that Dr. Ebrard is a minister of the German Reformed Church and now a resident of Spires, of evangelical sentiments, distinguished for great scholarship and a wonderfully prolific pen. As a commentator he is fresh,

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independent, thorough, aiming always to be profound, and sometimes really so, but, like many German expositors, tedious, and occasionally fanciful. He ought to be read with the eyes open. Those who love commentaries of this kind will not need to be advised to procure a copy of Ebrard on the Epistles of John. The publishers, Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, have brought out the work in their well known substantial and finished style.

IV. NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT OF THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO PHILEMON, as the Basis of a Revision of the Common English Version; and a Revised Version with Notes. New York: American Bible Union.

This small volume is understood to be from the pen of Dr. Hackett, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. It is a much better effort in its way than some of the specimens the "Union" has presented to the public. It is perhaps but due to quote a remark from the preface.

"There is," says Dr. Hackett, "much misapprehension still, I imagine, respecting the precise nature of the enterprise, in the interest of which this volume has been prepared. The object is not to supersede, but to revise the current version of the English Scriptures. A new translation of the original text, and a revision of the translation of that text, are very different things; and yet different as they are, are confounded by many persons who would not be unfriendly to what is attempted, if they would keep in mind this important distinction. It is not proposed to discard the present version; to cast away its manifold advantages; to introduce rash and doubtful innovations; to substitute a cumbrous Latinized style for the simple, nervous, idiomatic English, which brings the familiar version so home to the hearts of the people; but simply to do upon the work of our translators what they did upon that of their predecesssors; to survey it afresh in the light of the knowledge which has been gained during more than two centuries since they passed away; to make such changes and such only as the general verdict of the age has pronounced to be due to truth and fidelity; to make these changes in a style of delicate harmony with the present language of the English Bible; to confirm its accuracy, where it is correct, against false or

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unsupported interpretations, as well as to amend where it is confessedly incorrect; and thus, in a word, carry forward from our position, if we might, the labors of the revisers (for such they were) of James' age as they carried forward the labors of the generations before them."

Onesimus, Dr. Hackett says, was a Gentile, not a Jew, a native or certainly an inhabitant of Colosse. He says that the word *Slave* (softened from *Sklave*, and originally a national appellation, *Sklavonic* or *Sclavonic*) is comparatively a modern word in our own language, and altogether too restricted to represent the Greek *doulos*; yet a great many persons anxious to bolster up American slavery will endeavor to make us believe that *slave* is the exact equivalent of *doulos*. And further, the same class who are in the habit of commending this epistle to anti-slavery men as an example of Paul's sanctioning slavery, forget that Onesimus was a Greek, not an African; and therefore if this epistle of Paul sanctions slavery of any kind it is white slavery. Certainly it is with a very poor show that the advocates of slavery can appeal to this epistle as an example to justify the return of fugitive slaves. How many planters would accept the condition, viz.: that they must receive the servant "no longer as a servant, but above a servant, as a brother beloved," nay even as they would Paul himself? (v. 17.) Dr. Hackett's changes from the common version are chiefly the substitution of *heart* for *bowels*, (v. 7–20;) *becoming* for *convenient*, *Paul an old man* for *Paul the aged*, *child* for *son*, *flesh* for *bowels*, *receive him as thine forever* for *receive him forever*, *hope* for *trust*. We have read Dr. Hackett's translation and criticisms with interest, though he might be considered as liable to objections on some points.

V. A Dictionary of the Bible: comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. In two volumes. Vol. I. *A.—J.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1860. 4to., pp., 1176.

Every thorough biblical student has felt the want of just such a work as this claims to be. Many of the dictionaries

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of the Bible give a very meagre and unsatisfactory treatment of numerous important topics, while not unfrequently topics of interest are omitted altogether. One of the peculiar merits of this work is, that it endeavors to be more complete in the subjects which it professes to treat than any of its predecessors. Every proper name in the Old and New Testaments, and also in the Apocrypha, is intended to be given; and in the case of minor names, references are made to every passage in the Bible in which each occurs. The fact that no information concerning the less conspicious names can be found in ordinary books of reference is considered a sufficient reason for the insertion of articles on them in this work. Due attention is given to numerous collateral subjects, such as Apocrypha, Bible, Canon, Census, Chronology, Septuagint, Vulgate. Some of the most extensive and important articles refer to the books of the Bible, as Genesis, Pentateuch, Ezekiel, Daniel. These discuss all the principal questions in the literature of the several books. The entire work is "founded on a fresh examination of the original documents," and "embodies the results of the most recent researches and discoveries"—geographical, philological and historical. The requirements of the learned have been continually kept in view; while, at the same time, the articles will be intelligible to those who may not be acquainted with the ancient languages.

Dr. Smith, distinguished as a classical scholar, is the Editor, and has been assisted by some fifty other scholars, generally Englishmen, many of whom have a world-wide reputation, such as Alford, Ellicott, Ferguson, Howson, Layard, George Rawlinson. Dr. Porter, formerly of the Damascus Mission, has contributed some articles. The American contributors are Dr. Conant, Professor Felton, Professor Hackett, Dr. Smith, of Bangor, Professor Stowe, and Dr. J. P. Thompson, of New York. Each contribution is distinguished by the initials of the writer—a great satisfaction to the reader.

It will be seen from these statements, that this work must be one of more than ordinary value. In many re-

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spects it stands clearly in the front rank. Though not at all pretentious, almost every page shows the marks of much learning. On the antiquities of the Bible, it is specially rich and reliable. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that many things in such a work are simply the opinions of men. Indeed, contradictory views are occasionally presented in different articles on minor questions. This is to be expected where so many writers are employed; but the Editor says that, instead of endeavoring to obtain uniformity, he has considered it an advantage to the reader to have the arguments stated from different points of view. The apostolic motto, "Prove all things," should never be lost sight of in the perusal of such works. As a specimen of some curious and objectionable remarks, we may refer the reader to the article on Adam; where, to prove that Adam was not "in himself the perfection of moral excellence," his conduct in throwing the blame on Eve is spoken of as "a cowardly attempt to clear himslf"—"conduct unworthy of his sons, and such as many of them would have scorned to adopt." The writer seems to forget that Adam had already fallen, and that the image of God in which he was created had been defaced. We do not suppose that some of his boastful sons would have displayed any higher degree of moral excellence had they stood where Adam did. This writer also concludes that the prohibition to eat of the tree of life after Adam's transgression, was "merely a temporary prohibition imposed till the Gospel dispensation should be brought in." Is not this a bit of vain philosophy?

We commend this Dictionary to the particular attention of biblical students. When the second volume shall appear we hope to be able to speak more distinctly on some features of the work, though we believe the intelligent reader can form a good idea from this brief sketch.

VI. The General Series of Tracts, published by the American Tract Society. Vol. I. Boston.

Many of our readers will be glad to have these tracts in

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permanent form. Several of this volume are from Rev. J. C. Ryle and a few are devoted to the slavery controversy. The Boston society, unlike the great organization in New York, treats slavery as any other iniquity, and at the same time does not make it a hobby.

VIII. THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT IN PLATO, and the PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, unfolded and set forth by Dr. C. Ackerman, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by Samuel Ralph Asbury, B.A. With an Introductory Note, by William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1861. 8vo., pp. 280.

We commenced the perusal of this book with the determination of giving our readers the gist of it. But we find the task is so difficult, that neither our time nor our space will justify the attempt. A witty sentence of the author will apply to a review of such a book as well as to philosophy. "There would surely be," says he, "scarcely a more convenient study than philosophy, if one could drop the quintessence of it into the spoon of a definition, and administer this to the student." We cannot put the quintessence of Ackerman on Plato into the spoon of a short notice to be administered to our readers. We can only say that the work aims to present the special points of contact between the Platonic philosophy and Christianity. It is a book that excites thinking, which Plato says is asking. While the author exalts Plato in our estimation unduly, it is still apparent, that if Plato was man, Jesus Christ was God. We may, perhaps, recur to this book in a future number.

It is for sale by Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia.

XI. PRAYER FOR COLLEGES; A Premium Essay. By Rev. W. S. Tyler, D.D., Professor of Greek in Amherst College. A New and Enlarged Edition. Published by the American Tract Society, Boston. 12mo., pp. 260.

This is a very excellent treatise on the claims of our colleges upon the prayers of all lovers of the country and the

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church. The influence of our institutions of learning upon the various interests of society is presented in a convincing light. It is an excellent hand-book upon the whole subject.

X. A TEXT-BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. The Edinburgh Translation of C. W. Buch, Revised with Large Additions from the Fourth German Edition, and other Sources. By Henry B. Smith, D.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Vol. I. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. 8vo., pp. 478.

Karl Rudolf Hagenbach was born in Basle, May 4, 1801, where his father was a professor of anatomy and botany. He studied in Basle, and in the Universities of Bonn and Berlin; where, as we have seen it stated, he adopted the views of Schleiermacher. Dr. Smith says that his theological position now "is on the middle ground between the distinctive criticism of the school of Tubingen, and the literal orthodoxy of the extreme Lutherans, while he also sympathises with the Reformed rather than with the Lutheran type of theology." He has written several other works on ecclesiastical history. He has a high reputation for candor and learning.

His "History of Doctrines" first appeared in Germany in 1841, and the fourth edition in 1857, containing numerous improvements and additions. Dr. Smith has made numerous citations from other authors, and references to the more recent German as well as English and American literature. These are indicated by brackets, and appropriate marks are introduced to designate Roman Catholic writers, and works that are commended. The peculiar merits and advantages of this, as a text-book, lie, according to the editor, "in giving a candid and compressed statement of the main points, fortifying every position by exact and pertinent citations from the original sources." Hagenbach comprehends better than most men the nature of a text-book. He lays down his points with brevity and clearness, and then by citations

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and references enables one to form an opinion for himself, or at least directs him to the sources of information which the student may explore at pleasure.

The History of Doctrines is defined by Hagenbach as "that branch of the theological science which exhibits the gradual development and definite shaping of the substance of the Christian faith into doctrinal statements (definitions, dogmas.) It also sets forth the different forms which the system of doctrines has assumed in the course of history; the changes it has undergone as influenced by the culture of different periods; and it likewise illustrates the religious value which it has always maintained, as containing unchangeable elements of truth in the midst of all these transformations."

There can be but one opinion as to the importance of this study. The doctrines are the life of the church. Practice is the fruit of doctrine. The cardinal truths of justification by faith and not by works, and of the supremacy of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, were embraced by the reformers of the sixteenth century, and hence the change in Europe as from darkness to light. We believe another volume will complete the work, which we suppose will be the best in this particular department of theological literature.

It was intended to have noticed at some length, in this number, the reports of the several committees on Book of Discipline, Directory for Worship, and Psalmody, on which action is to be taken by our General Assembly this spring. But owing to delay in getting out this number, by which it will not be likely to reach subscribers until after the meeting of the Assembly, it is thought such notices would be out of time, and they are withheld. They would have been given in the preceding number but for want of room in making up the last form, and the hope that they could be given in due time in this number.

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THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOLUME II. JULY, 1861. NUMBER III.

ARTICLE I.—THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE.

Progressive development characterizes all the works of God. "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." First the acorn, then the twig, afterwards the lofty oak. First the infant, then the child, next the youth, afterwards the full grown man. Such, also, is the kingdom of God, from the time it was first set up, through the various stages of its progress.

At present we are concerned with this feature of the Divine government, only as it appears in the various, successive arrangements which he has made for the moral and religious improvement of mankind.

In the infancy of our race, while the human mind was still in an infantile state, and but a few simple, though important truths were yet made known by Divine revelation, a very simple arrangement was, for the time, sufficient. The patriarch, or head of a family, was the instructor of his household in religion, as well as in common things, and they had no other regular or authorized instructors. Thus, it is said of Abraham, "I know him, that he will command

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his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."

When God took the children of Israel by the hand to lead them up out of the land of Egypt, he gave them, by the ministry of his servant Moses, a civil constitution as a nation, and an ecclesiastical constitution, as a people whom he had separated to himself, or as a church; in which such provision was made for their religious instruction as was better adapted to the wants of the age. The tribe of Levi was set apart, not only to perform sacerdotal functions, or to administer religious ceremonies on behalf of the people, but also to teach them the laws, statutes, and ordinances of Jehovah. No portion of the land was given to them; but in lieu thereof, the tithe, or the tenth part of the product, was assigned to them for their support. Forty-eight cities were also allotted to them, in which they were to reside; and these cities were so distributed that they could easily mingle with the people in all parts of the land, and with the greater readiness and facility, attend to their various duties. Num. xxxv. 2, 7, 8.

The tribe of Levi was taken by the Lord, in the room of all the first-born of the children of Israel. These belonged to the Lord; were claimed by him as his own in a peculiar sense, because he had saved them when he destroyed all the first-born of the Egyptians. "For all the first-born of the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast: on the day that I smote every first-born in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for myself." Num. viii. 17. That is, he set them apart for himself, as we are more fully taught in Exodus chap. xiii. As he had taken the Levites in the room of the first-born, he says: "They shall be mine;" that is, they shall be devoted to my service. "I have taken the Levites for all the first-born of the children of Israel." Num. viii. 18. And, as in former times, the first-born son, on the death of his father, was heir to all he had, and in the room of his father, the patriarch, had to take care of and instruct his younger brethren, and offer sacrifices for them; the whole tribe of Levi was to sustain a similar relation to the people of all the other tribes. Of Levi he said—"They shall teach

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Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law: they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar. Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands: smite through the loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again." Deut. xxxiii. 10–11.

Though the Levites were to be extensively employed in the service of the sanctuary, the priesthood was confined to a single family of the tribe—the family of Aaron. In addition to offering gifts and sacrifices for the people, the priests were appointed to decide cases of conscience, and to resolve such questions as might from time to time arise in reference to the application of the law to particular cases. They were to give what, in later days, have been know as ecclesiastical "deliverances." This will appear on a close examination of those passages which speak of the teaching of the priests. In Haggi, chapter ii. 11–13, we have a couple of such questions as it belonged to the priests to decide, and their answers to them. In Leviticus, chapters xiii. and xiv., we have minute directions given to the priest, which he was to observe in making up his judgment, whether a man was unclean by leprosy, or whether a house was unclean; and, if unclean, how to proceed in order to prevent the plague of uncleanness from spreading among the people, and how to cleanse the house or the person, and when to pronounce the plague of uncleanness removed, so that the house might again be inhabited, and the person might again come into the sanctuary of the Lord. Though the priest, as other Levites, might teach the law as he had opportunity; his special duty was rather to administer and apply the law than to teach it. He was to give judicial decisions; but, while engaged in these, his more appropriate duties, the people would frequently have opportunities of learning the law at his mouth.

The remainder of the tribe of Levi—which indeed was the great body of the tribe—were not to execute the priests' office; but still, they were to be engaged in the service of the sanctuary. They were to aid the priests in their daily ministrations. They were also to be the teachers of the

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people. Being supported by the tithes, they were to give themselves wholly to their work, and to be assiduously employed in the duties which were assigned them. And there was an implied obligation resting on them to endeavor to qualify themselves for their various duties. Having to read the law, and cause the people to understand it, they needed more learning than, we can suppose, the mass of the nation possessed. They were, indeed, the learned class. Having no landed estates, and freed from the ordinary labors and cares of life, a competent support being secured to them, they were to regard their time and their talents as not their own, but the Lord's, and therefore to be spent in his service, and under his directions for the good of his people.

But, in the course of time, the Levitical institute became inadequate to meet the wants of the people. This arose, no doubt, in part, from their unfaithfulness and inattention to their duties. But various other causes contributed their share. The human mind had become more active, wealth had increased, various new channels of thought had been opened up. Hence, the same kind and the same amount of religious instruction which, in former ages had sufficed, had become insufficient to keep the popular mind in subjection to the law of God. Finding that ignorance of the law everywhere prevailed, and that the people everywhere had turned, or were in danger of turning, aside after the ways of their idolatrous neighbors, Jehoshaphat saw that vigorous efforts must be made to teach the people to know the law, and thus check the tide of apostasy from the worship of the God of Israel. "In the third year of his reign, he sent to Ben-hail, and to Obadiah, and to Zechariah, and to Nethaneel, and to Michaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah. And with them he sent Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah, Levites, and with them, Elishama, and Jehoram, priests. And they taught in Judah, and and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the

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people. And the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat." 2 Chron. xvii. 7–10. This was an ancient revival of religion. The means which were used to produce it were the same in kind with the means which should always be used; and they will never be faithfully and perseveringly used without producing some good effect.

The Levitical establishment, though suited to the ends which God had in view when it was first set up, was never intended to be permanent. "The law made nothing perfect." Hence, before the days of Jehoshaphat, God, occasionally or on special emergencies, sent extraordinary messengers to the people, or raised up to them extraordinary teachers, known in the Scriptures by the name of prophets. These were not recognized as officers in the ecclesiastical system; they were not sent to administer the ceremonial institute; their mission was to reprove the people for their sins, and teach them to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God. They were the precursors of Peter and James and John, and Paul and Apollos and Timotheus. Hence, in the New Testament, the ministers of religion are never called priests or Levites, but they are frequently called prophets.

Furthermore; though some have supposed that synagogues were not introduced till after the captivity, it is every way probable, that, from the time when Jehoshaphat sent teachers through the land, many began to see, what God intended they should see and learn, that something more was necessary to have the people well taught, and to keep them in the fear of the Lord, than the instruction obtained at the feasts, where all the males were assembled before the Lord at Jerusalem, or than they could obtain by having the law read once in seven years by the Levites. Those that feared the Lord would speak often one to another; and their meetings, at first perhaps only occasional, would gradually assume such a character, as they afterwards had, when the synagogue worship was fully established. In due time, a synagogue was established wherever

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there were ten persons suitable to attend and take part in the services.

The exercises of the synagogue were reading portions of the law and the prophets, and expounding the passages read. The officers were the chief ruler of the synagogue, who acted as president, and superintended the various services. Next under him were the elders, called also the "heads of the synagogue." They sat with their faces toward the people, and were the governing body under the chief ruler. Next, "the angel of the assembly," who was their messenger to God, (praying for them,) and acting as their chief speaker; thus, in some respects, answering to a Protestant minister. Last of all, the minister, who was to take care of the book of the law, hand it to the person who officiated as reader, and take charge of it when the services were ended.

The synagogue, with its officers, and services, and government, prepared the minds of the people for the New Testament system of church services, and officers, and government. The New Testament system was borrowed from, or modelled after, the synagogue, with such changes as the apostles of Christ, guided by the Spirit of inspiration, saw fit to make to render it suitable for all parts of the world, and for all coming ages. In condescension to human weakness, God made no sudden or violent change.

The term *minister*, (minus, *less*, minister,) which is most frequently and more properly used—more properly than parson, or clergyman, or priest—to designate one who labors in the word and doctrine, intimates that he acts in a subordinate capacity, or under the authority of another, who is called master. (Majus or magis, *greater*, magister.) The name is instructive. The master is not the civil magistrate, not the sovereign people, but Christ. "One is your master, even Christ." The minister is to do the bidding of his master, Christ—nothing more, nothing less. What an amount of separation, and division, and persecution, and ecclesiastical tyranny would have been prevented had this been duly regarded! How many foul pages would the pen of the ecclesiastical historian not have had to write!

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There are two Greek words which are frequently used to designate the apostles and other Mew Testament teachers, both of which are rendered minister in the authorized translation.

1. *Leitourgos*—One who serves the public—fills some useful office, and performs certain duties for the public welfare; in a word, a *public servant.*

2. *Diakonos*—One who attends upon, waits upon others, as a *household servant.* Such are ministers of the Gospel in the Church, which is the house of the living God—Christ's own house. Their duty is to minister to the wants of the members of Christ's family—to go and come, to do this or that as he bids them.

May any one who chooses take this office to himself without the call of the master, Christ? No; he must have the selection of his own servants. This right, this honor, we readily accord to a man like ourselves, and why not to him who is clothed with all power in heaven and in earth? By his Gospel, and by his Spirit, he calls some to be saints. These have their duties prescribed to them, and they are to serve him in all such ways as he is pleased to direct. The church—no power on earth has a right to enjoin on them a single duty different from, or additional to, what he prescribes to them. They are Christ's servants, but in no sense the servants of men. But he calls others to serve him by bearing rule in the church; that is, to see that the laws which he has given to his church are obeyed. Beyond this they have no authority—none whatever. But of these he calls some to serve him by preaching the Gospel and administering its ordinances. These are called *preachers*—preachers of the word; and "How can they preach except they be sent?" They are called *pastors;* but what right can they have to feed and tend the flock of the Chief Shepherd, unless he employs them, and commands them to stand and feed in his name? They are called *heralds* and *ambassadors* for Christ; but such names are not rightly applied unless he sends them, furnishes them with the message which they are to deliver, and sends them to whomsoever he will.

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They are called *stewards—stewards of the mysteries of God;* and does not this imply that he has made them rulers over his goods, to deal out to all the members of his household their portion of meat in due season?

In what does a call to the ministry, or a call to preach the Gospel consist?

Ans. 1. In all whom Christ calls to preach the Gospel, he, by his Spirit, implants an earnest desire to be employed in the work of the ministry.

Other callings may present much that is attractive, much to recommend them to their choice, and in various other callings they may serve God also; but a desire to be employed in ministering the Gospel of the grace of God prevails. The chief element in this desire is love to Christ, a love for his service, and love for the souls of men, who, without the Gospel, must perish in their sins.

Brothers have sometimes agreed among themselves what professions they should choose. One would be a physician, another a lawyer, a third a minister of the Gospel, that they might locate in the same town or rural district, and sustain each other. Now, God may over-rule such an arrangement to his own glory, and make it subservient to the edification of his church; but, as yet, there is no evidence that he who turns his attention to the ministry for any such reasons is really called to be a minister of Christ. Such arrangements, however, are seldom made except among the sons of wealthy parents.

In order that any one may try his desire for the work of the ministry, of what sort it is, it may be well for him to consider how it was with Paul, and compare the state of his own mind with his. Addressing himself to the Jews, he says:—"Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved." To the Philippians, he says:—"God is my witness, how greatly I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ." To the Galatians, he says:—"My little children, of whom I travel in birth again, till Christ be formed in you." To the Corinthians, he says:—"I will gladly spend and be spent for you; though

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the more I love you, the less I be loved." To the Philippians again, he says:—"Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." And he makes this general declaration:—"I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."

When Christ implants this desire in the soul of any one, it will lead him to struggle with difficulties, and often to hope against hope, in order that he may gain the object on which his heart is set. Sometimes the way may seem to be closed against him, and he may be almost ready to abandon the cherished wish of his soul; but some favoring providences, some ray of light cast on his path, or some shadow settling down on another path which he was almost ready to choose for himself, reäwakens his cherished, though partially abandoned, desire.

2. To those whom he calls to preach his Gospel, Christ, in some good degree, imparts the necessary gifts; or, he bestows upon them suitable qualifications for the work. Not always—seldom indeed—does he bestow upon them great talents, or a high order of eloquence, but such qualifications as will enable them to become workmen that need not to be ashamed.

Here, let it be remarked, that there is what may properly be designated an ecclesiastical call to preach the Gospel. By this is meant a call addressed to a probationer by a people inviting him to become their pastor, and take charge of their souls.

Presbyterians first license, that is, permit an individual to preach the gospel. This is the act of a Presbytery; and it simply declares that, in their judgment, or as far as they can see, he is called by Christ to preach his Gospel. But he is yet only a probationer for the holy ministry. He is yet on trial; but before the bar of the people. They have to pass their judgment. And, in ordinary cases, he is not ordained, a right or authority to administer Christ's ordinances is not conferred on him, till he has received a call from some congregation to minister to them the Gospel of the grace of God.

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This regulation seems to be directed by human prudence in agreeableness to "the general rules of the word." "Lay hands suddenly on no man."

But here a question—If after allowing a sufficient time for the people to express their judgment, no congregation gives a call to a probationer to become their pastor, should not this be regarded as evidence that, for reasons unknown to a Presbytery, or on which a Presbytery could not act, it is doubtful whether Christ calls him to engage in the work of the ministry; and should not some regulation exist, according to which he might turn aside to some other honorable and useful calling, without having a stigma of any kind affixed on his character?

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A GOSPEL MINISTER.

1. *Piety.*—He must be reconciled to God through the cross of Christ, or how can he pray his hearers to be reconciled to God? The preacher of the Gospel is but a pardoned sinner, sent by Christ to reason with, and persuade and entreat his fellow-sinners to seek that mercy and forgiveness which he trusts he has obtained by faith in the Saviour's blood. He is but a rebel, who has submitted himself to God, sent to assure his fellow-rebels, that, if they submit themselves to the righteousness of God, what is past will be forgotten and forgiven, and instead of those guilty fears and dark forebodings which now afflict their souls, they will henceforth rejoice in the sunshine of the love and favor of a reconciled God and Father.

2. *Aptness to teach.*—The preacher of the Gospel must be able to teach the doctrines of Christ so as to enlighten the understandings of his hearers, that he may be a suitable instrument in the hands of the Spirit, to guide them into all truth. He must be able to unfold the plan of salvation in a plain and satisfactory manner, so that his hearers may learn from him what they must do to be saved. "A bishop, then, must be apt to teach." 1 Tim. iii. 2. "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii. 15.

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"But foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes." Verse 23. "In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." Verse 25. "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not; but have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

3. *He must be blameless, and of a holy and edifying conversation.*—There must not be that in his deportment which would cause the way of truth to be evil spoken of. He must set an example to the flock which they may follow, with safety to their souls and to the glory of God. "A bishop, then, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality." 1 Tim. iii. 2. "If a man, therefore, purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified, and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work. Flee also youthful lusts: but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart." 2 Tim. ii. 21, 22. "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainsayers." Titus i. 7, 9.

4. *He must have a love to the souls of men, and a desire to advance the glory of God in the salvation of sinners.*—"Behold the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdensome to you: for I seek not yours, but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children. And I will very glady spend and

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be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." 2 Cor. xii. 14, 15. "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." Phil. ii. 17. "So being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us." 1 Thess. ii. 8.

5. *He must be faithful.*—"Moreover, it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." 1 Cor. iv. 2. "And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." 2 Tim. ii. 2.

6. *The ministerial office is perpetual.*—It is to continue in the church till the end of time. There was no perfection by the Levitical priesthood. "The law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did." Having obtained an unchangeable priesthood, Christ appointed an unchangeable ministry. There is to be no future "change of the laws."

1. As the ascending Saviour, he commanded his disciples thus:—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.—Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." This is a pledge of his presence with those who teach in his name, and preach his Gospel throughout all ages; and it implies that there is to be a succession of men, whose duty it will be to preach his Gospel, and administer his ordinances, "even unto the end of the world."

2. "Faith comes by hearing—but how can they hear without a preacher?" This declaration is limited to no age. It was true in the apostles' days, when few could read, or had an opportunity of reading; but it is still true. The world over, those who do not hear, seldom read. Make the inquiry of those who are walking with God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and it will be found that, in the

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great majority of cases, they obtained their religious impressions when hearing the Gospel preached by a man like themselves. A word which they had read many a time before, now pierced their heart for the first time. Those who leave off hearing under the pretext that they can read a good book at home, soon leave off other religious duties. The Sabbath begins to be spent, as those spend it, who have no care for their souls. The good book is neglected.

3. No future progress of the church; no abundant outpouring of the Spirit will render the ministerial office unnecessary. The miraculous effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost did not supersede the preaching of the Gospel, but it produced a more earnest desire to hear. It was then, and not till then, that the apostles entered on the work of preaching Christ. Immediately Peter stood up and preached:—"Men and brethren, what shall we do?" was the inquiry of the anxious multitude. There was a demand made on Christ's ministers for instruction, such as had never been made before.

4. The wants of mankind will always render a Gospel ministry necessary. Those who are born of fallen Adam will always be ignorant and need instruction in the way of life. They will need to be warned to flee from the wrath to come. They will need to be exhorted to follow holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. They will need to be exhorted to give diligence to make their calling and election sure, lest a spirit of slumber seize upon them, "lusts get room," and they begin to "take carnal ease."

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ARTICLE II.—SLOAN ON COLOR AND SLAVERY.

The Great Question Answered; or, Is Slavery a Sin in itself? Answered according to the Teaching of the Scriptures. By James A. Sloan, A.M. Memphis: 1857. 12*mo.*, *pp.* 294.

Ho! all ye inquirers after the truth! A luminary has arisen in the Southwest, shedding its strong light over the dark and turbulent waters of the slavery controversy. Rev. James A. Sloan, of Mississippi, has, according to his statements, gone to the central sun, and now comes back holding up his brilliant torch to give light to all candid men. Only one class can fail, in his judgment, to appreciate the light he sheds. Those who assume that slavery is morally and politically wrong, he does not expect to convince. "On the minds of such men," he observes, "the clearest demonstration falls utterly powerless; the brightest light has the same effect on their vision, as it has on that of a bat—that is, it only makes them blinder." Now as Mr. Sloan has generously furnished us with a copy of his work, and has specially invited us to consider it; and as he has been pleased to hold up the United Presbyterian Church as guilty of "teaching rebellion against the laws of the land, and violating openly, and in their collective capacity, the plain law of the Bible," we propose to set his great light on the highest eminence within our reach, and let our readers see the strength of its rays. We beseech them not to look with bat's eyes. We assure them that we do not think any smoked glass will be necessary to prevent injury to their vision. However dazzling it may seem to some in a different latitude, we think all our readers may venture to look at this new luminary with the naked eye.

For various reasons we take a deep interest in this book.

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One is that it affords a reliable indication of the progress of public opinion at the South, both in relation to human rights and the conduct of Northern Christians. Another reason is that its author is a prominent minister of the Associate Reformed Church, South. Every one feels a special interest in his ecclesiastical kindred, even though there be a departure from the common faith of the fathers. It may not be amiss here to say that we do not understand Mr. Sloan as fairly representing the church to which he belongs. We know that some of his brethren heartily repudiate the main positions of this volume. We may also be allowed to say that, as far as we know, United Presbyterians have no fault to find with some of the ministers and members of their Associate Reformed brethren at the South. We refer to those who believe that slavery is contrary both to the letter and spirit of the Gospel, and who, although entangled in various ways with the system, are doing what they can—some of them, we are assured, with much self-denial—to prepare their slaves for freedom. With all such we have a hearty sympathy, and are as willing as ever to hold ministerial and Christian fellowship with them. Far be it from us to cast reproach on those who "use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion."

One prominent feature of this book is very gratifying. It is bold and manly. The author knows that in order to satisfy his conscience he must have a Bible warrant for enslaving the African. He is too enlightened to rest in a quotation from Plato or Aristotle. Nor is he contented with the mode of argument adopted by those Northern divines, who prove the lawfulness of slavery by pointing out some sin in the conduct of an opponent. Neither does he try to justify slavery on the ground that God may overrule it to the advantage of some. "Good," says he, "may come out of slavery, but that does not prove it to be right." He has no sympathy with the theory that the Negro is only an improved species of monkey. He believes that his slave is, by blood, his own brother. Unless he can produce a

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scriptural warrant he is manly enough to confess that the system ought to be abolished. "No human power has the authority in itself to take away personal liberty, unless authorized by the Creator who gave it," (p. 145.) Having thus perceived the stronghold necessary to be gained in this contest, our author marches up with the ardor and chivalry characteristic of his region, and, as he supposes, takes possession, and then, feeling that he stands on the walls of an Ehrenbreitstein, proudly waves his banner in the face of all enemies. He is open and defiant as Goliath of Gath, and we praise him for it.

The tone, with few exceptions, is dignified and respectful towards opponents. It is happily not much disfigured with that arrogance which is so characteristic of some pro-slavery writers, now residents of the North, who have grown rich on the fruitfulness of Negro wombs.

We must make another preliminary remark. Mr. Sloan is greatly mistaken when he supposes that Northern anti-slavery Christians, generally, are opposed to the Constitution of the United States. There is no necessity to prove slavery right in order to make us loyal to the Constitution. On this point, we who are conscientiously opposed to slavery, are willing to compare records with our brethren of Mississippi. We have not yet cast the Constitution from us as an unholy thing. The federal flag is to us as sacred as ever.

We now lay before our readers the main positions of this volume, venturing as we proceed to make some comments. His first chapter advocates the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. This is the good old Protestant doctrine familiar to all our readers. This chapter was unnecessary for Northern Christians, whatever may have been the call for it further South. The second chpater, on the Church and State, is likewise, for the most part, approved. That we owe duties to Cæsar and also to God; that our obligations to obey Cæsar are limited by our duties to God; that when Cæsar commands what God forbids, we are to obey God rather than men is familiar Presbyterian doctrine. That some matters have both a political and moral side is also

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sound. That "the church sustains her ministry to expound the Bible, to teach her members what are their duties, not only as Christians but as citizens; to point out the nature and extent of their obligations to the State, and the proper motives from which the powers that be are derived," is certainly wholesome teaching. But we demur when Mr. Sloan insinuates, or asserts, as he does again and again, that to present what we believe to be the Bible doctrine of slavery in the pulpit is going beyond the minister's sphere. Mr. Sloan, doubtless, feels that when he expounds the Bible as he views its teachings on this vexed question, he is not transgressing; so we, when we give our exposition. The only question between us is, who is right? Which interpretation will the Master endorse? It is idle, therefore, for our Southern friends, whenever an anti-slavery preacher expounds the word relating to this matter, to cry out, "That is meddling with politics; going beyond your commission." To such a charge, Robert Hall answered:—"The plain state of the case is, the writer is offended, not at my meddling with politics, but that I have meddled *on the wrong side!*"

The third chapter is headed, "Subordination, or Order in God's works." Here he dwells fondly on the thought, that

> Order is Heaven's first law; and this confessed,
> Some must and will be greater than the rest.

He points out the gradations among angels, worlds, vegetables, birds, fishes, beasts, and men. Sagely does he inform us that "an eagle would not be suitable to fill the place of a turkey, partridge, goose, or a common domestic fowl called a chicken. A lion would or could not fill the place of the dull ass, or even supply the place of the docile and patient ox." Everything, then, should keep its place, for if it does not, "confusion, pain, and often death is the result."

> Variety is the very spice of life
> That gives it all its flavor.

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The variety of color among men is with our author a fascinating topic. He holds that all men before the flood were of a monotonous red color, but since then there has been a rich variety—red, white and black. "God created Adam a *red* man. This position is sustained by the proper and literal meaning of the word Adam, viz.: 'red earth.' The human family were one in color before the time of Noah. The world was destroyed by the flood, and the earth was afterwards re-peopled by the descendants of the three sons of Noah; and varieties among men may be reduced to three leading classes, corresponding to the number of their great progenitors after the flood, Shem, Ham, and Japheth," (p. 55.) The reader will see how beautifully this prepares the way for the main point in this book, which is to show the scripturalness of that variety which slavery introduces. Mr. Sloan's love of the beautiful, we suppose, is greatly gratified by the varied hues of a Southern plantation. In free society there is, alas! monotony, every household being on the same level as to rights of person and property, and family, and generally, too, as to color and race. In slavedom the "spice of life" is seen in the beautiful variety of master and slave, of owner and owned, of independence and abject dependence, of those who, according to our author, are Heaven's executives to enforce a curse, and those who are doomed to suffer the curse, of white and black, of straight-haired and woolly heads, of strong minds and feeble intellects. We suppose that, on Mr. Sloan's principle, a plantation in respect to color is still lovelier, when as the result of a certain practice of some masters, it presents all the intermediate varieties between pure, rosy Caucasian and unadulterated Negro—mulattoes, tercerons, quadroons, quinteroons, and octoroons.

We now come to the most important portion of this work. The fourth chapter endeavors to account for the origin of color and slavery. Both, he affirms, originated in the family of Noah. Ham sinned, and his Creator blackened him, degraded him, and consigned him to everlasting bondage to his brethren, Shem and Japheth. That we do the author no injustice will appear from the following quotations.

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"God, then, has taken away the personal liberty of the descendants of Ham, and given the authority to the descendants of Shem and Japheth to hold Ham's posterity in servitude. Gen. ix. 25. This dominion of the white and yellow races over the black race was given to them by Jehovah. God inflicted slavery as a punishment of sin. This authority was given *before* the Mosaic law to the Jews was revealed. It was not a grant to the Jews, but to all the descendants of Shem and Japheth, and then it was not local or temporary," (p. 145.) "It was the sentence of God against him (Ham) and his offspring, degrading them from an equality with their brethren, and consigning them to perpetual servitude," (p. 87.) "We have shown in a former chapter that God, by a *judicial* sentence, subjected the descendants of Ham to those of Shem and Japheth. This subordination of one part of the human family to the other was not made to the Jews—to one people; it was not local and temporary, but the sentence of Jehovah was passed against the descendants of Ham while the whole race was together; hence this decree, or sentence, was not confined to one period or one nation, but it extended to all times and all people," (p. 163.)

Mr. Sloan's position cannot be misunderstood. Ham and all his descendants were doomed by God to endless slavery under Shem and Japheth, and the badge of their degradation is black. Mr. Sloan finds his main authority for this belief in Genesis ix. 20–27. Let us consider his arguments.

He first attempts to prove that Ham and all his children were miraculously blackened. The importance of this point is that it enables the slave-master to identify those on whom the curse is alleged to fall. As to the matter of color, he says his "position is sustained by two unanswerable arguments, viz.:—First, the usage of the Hebrew language, or what is called by scholars, the philological argument. And second, by the facts of history." The first argument is stated in these words:—

"Ham's name means 'black.' Gesenius, in his Hebrew lexicon, under the word Ham, says, that it is a name of Egypt; probably its domestic name among the Egyptians

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themselves; but so inflected by the Hebrews, as to refer it to Ham, the son of Noah, as the progenitor of the Egyptians, as well as other southern nations, (Psalm lxxviii. 51; cv. 23, 27; cvi. 22.) This word, in the Coptic and Satadic dialects, according to Plutarch, has the signification of *blackness* and heat. 'Ham, a son of Noah, whose posterity are described in Gen. x. 6-20, as occupying the southernmost regions of the known earth; thus according aptly with his name—that is, warm, hot.' There must, then, have been some peculiarity of color in the skin of Ham, which caused his father to give him the name he received, and which many of his posterity bore for ages afterwards. Shem received his name, because he was to be the 'renowned,' or distinguished person from whom Abraham would spring. The Jewish nation, also, came in his line; and consequently the Saviour of sinners, the most renowned person who has ever appeared on earth, sprang from the stock of Shem. It is said by learned men, who have fully investigated this subject, that Shem means 'red.' The name Japheth, the second son of Noah, is derived from a root or word in its simplest form, that means, fair—comely—beautiful. This theory is not mere conjecture, but the philological argument fully sustains the idea that the different colors of the human race originated in the family of Noah. This change was evidently brought about by Him who doeth His will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth. He had some wise purpose in view by this arrangement, for 'the Judge of all the earth will do right." The difference of color was, then, a miracle, wrought by Jehovah for some important purpose.

"According to what we have said, it is plain from the true meaning of the Hebrew, that Shem was red, Japheth white, and Ham black," (pp. 60, 61.)

Now, we grant that Hebrew proper names are often not mere arbitrary appellations, but characteristic and descriptive. Generally, however, the sacred writers inform us why the name was given when it had special significance. Thus we are told that Peleg's name commemorated the confusion of tongues, and Gershom's the fact that Moses was at the time a stranger in Midian. We have no express information from the Scriptures as to the reason why Noah's sons were so called, and we might, therefore, perhaps call in question Mr. Sloan's right to give them a prophetical signi-

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ficance, even if he had more reason for his position than he has produced.

To the assertion that the Hebrew word Ham means black, we reply that every scholar knows that it is utterly unfounded. To the word as an adjective, Gesenius gives the meaning of *warm, hot, e. g.*, of bread just baked, Joshua ix. 12. To Ham, as a proper noun, he gives as its first application the statement made in Mr. Sloan's second quotation, where the reader will observe, that, according to Mr. Sloan's own showing, Gesenius makes the word signify *warm* or *hot.* The second application of the word, as a proper name, is as a name of Egypt, as is seen in the quotation of Mr. Sloan. Gesenius then remarks that in the Coptic language the name of Egypt is *Chemi*, in the Sahidic dialect, *Keme*, which words, according to Plutarch, have the signification of blackness and heat, *de Iside et Osir*. That is, Gesenius says what nobody disputes, that the name of Egypt in the Memphitic or pure Coptic dialect, and in the Sahidic or Theban dialect, according to Plutarch, was significant of blackness and heat. Now, upon this statement, Mr. Sloan gravely tells us that the Hebrew word *Cham* means black. To fasten on Ham the badge of inferiority, as he regards it, this Mississippian philologist chases "the panting syllable," not "into Noah's ark," but into the Memphitic or Theban dialect of the old Coptic, a language that has never been considered as properly belonging to the Semitic family. He proposes to give us the Hebrew meaning by giving us the signification of a Coptic word, whose identity he does not even attempt to establish. You might far better argue that our English word "black" means "pale" or "white," because, according to Webster, the same root signifies "pale" or "white" in the Swedish, Dutch and Danish. But, suppose we grant that *Chemi* in Coptic means black, Plutarch is rather against him, for that writer says that the name was given because of the blackness of the soil, whereas, according to Mr. Sloan, Egypt was so named because the Hamites, who inhabited it, were black. Some Hebrew lexicograpers say that the Israelites called it *Cham*, because it was a hot, burning country. All the lexicons give warmth, or heat, as the

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primary meaning of the word, and this is the radical idea wherever the verb or the adjective occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures. Accordingly, *chammah* is the name sometimes applied to the sun, and sometimes to its heat. The word *choom*, Genesis xxx. 32, is literally *scorched, swarthy, tanned by the sun*; "the color produced by influence of the sun's rays." *

The use of the word *cham* in the Bible does not countenance Mr. Sloan's assertion. In our English version the word is never rendered by our word "black." Moses speaks of "black hair," (Lev. xxxi. 31–37); Job says his skin is black upon him, (Job xxx. 30); the spouse says she is black because the sun has shone upon her, (Song of Sol. i. 6), and that the locks of her beloved are black as a raven, (v. 11); Zechariah speaks of red, white, black, and grizzled horses; but in none of these instances do we find *cham* in the original. In fact, the adjective in dispute is never used as expressive of color. Mr. Sloan is also contradicted by his own witness, as is evident from the quotation already referred to. Mr. Sloan's proof is briefly this—the Hebrew *cham* means black, because, first, the Coptic *Chemi, or Chami*, means blackness, and secondly, because the Hebrew adjective means warm, hot. What an "unanswerable argument!"

His reasoning from the words Shem and Japheth is equally wild and contradictory. How Shem can, in the same application, signify both "renowned" and "red," we leave the reader to determine. Nor do we stop to inquire what right he has to assume that red is equivalent to yellow; men of science do not confound one primary color with another. He has authority for saying that Shem means renowned, but he has given none; and, so far as we know, can give none for the second and contradictory meaning which he affirms learned men give it. He is also in error, though others before him have committed the same blunder, when it is alleged that the etymology of Japheth is fair—comely—beautiful. The name is derived from *pathah*, to

* Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I., p. 344.

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extend, enlarge; not from *yaphah* beautiful, lovely. This is the derivation given by Gesenius, Calvin, and others, and a close examination will show that grammatical propriety forbids Mr. Sloan's view. Even if his derivation were correct, it would prove nothing, because it cannot be shown that *yaphah* in a single instance refers to complexion. Esther was said to be fair, but the literal rendering is, "fair of form," that is, beautiful, graceful. Nothing more than beautiful is conveyed when the term is applied to Sarah and Rebekah. In fact a beautiful negress might be styled *yaphah.*

Once more, granting that Mr. Sloan's philology were correct, his argument from it would be set aside by the fact, which we shall hereafter prove, that the three great ethnological varieties of the human race are not identical or correspondent with the threefold division in Noah's family. According to Mr. Sloan's theory, all the Semitic nations should have been red or yellow. Yet all the ethnographers class many Semitic peoples with the Caucasian or white variety. The Jews, the Arabians, Persians and others are never ranked with the yellow Mongolians.

This philological argument, therefore, vanishes into thin air. It is self-contradictory and unsupported by a single name; a baseless fabric.

The second argument is historical. If Mr. Sloan can prove that at any given date, say the time of Abraham or Moses, all the pure Hamitic nations were black, all the Japhethites white, and all the Shemites red or yellow, we will very cheerfully grant that he has made out a plausible case. Having quoted Dr. Scott, the commentator, to show the localities of the descendants of Shem and Japheth, he further quotes to the effect that the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Cyrenians, Lybians, Mauritanians, and all the Africans, with the Canaanites, Philistines, and Phœnicians were the descendants of Ham. "Such," says our author, "is the statement of a man who was no friend of slavery."

Now, the question is, what was the complexion of these Hamites? Here we would naturally expect an array of

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evidence. When the point involved is so important to the enslaver and the enslaved, we have a right to demand the testimony of the historians, ethnographers and Egyptologists. But, alas! when we ask for bread, we get only a stone. While professing to appeal to historical facts to fasten the badge of inferiority and the curse of slavery on all the Hamites, Mr. Sloan attempts to prove his point by a naked assertion, unsupported by a single authority from Berosus to Bunsen. Here is the argument in a single line. Alluding to the descendants of Ham as identified by Dr. Scott, our author asserts, "it is a notorious fact that all these are black." This is what Mr. Sloan calls argument! *Risum teneatis, amici!* Assuredly this is a new mode of settling an important and difficult question in archæology.

We hold that the above statement is notoriously not true. But we do not ask the reader to take our *ipse dixit* as proof. We might remind Mr. Sloan that recent ethnographers hold that there are at least five varieties of mankind; Dr. Prichard holds to seven, and Dr. Pickering to eleven races. But passing this, let it be observed that our author uses the terms "white," "red" and "black," in their conventional sense as designating, respectively, Caucasians, Mongolians and Ethiopians or Negroes. Now are all the Hamites to be ranked with the Ethiopians? We answer, *no*. The lines that mark out the three great varieties are by no means the lines that separate Shem, Ham and Japheth from one another. Cuvier says that "the Negro or Ethiopian race is confined to the southward of the Atlas chain of mountains; its color is black," &c., thus plainly excluding the Egyptians, Mauri tanians, and many other Hamites. According to Blumenbach the Caucasian variety "includes all the Europeans (except the Finns;) the former and present inhabitants of Western Asia as far as the river Oby, the Caspian Sea and the Ganges: *i. e.*, Assyrians, Medes, Chaldeans, Sarenatians, Scythians, and Parthians, the Philistines, Jews, Phœnicians, and the inhabitants of Syria generally; the Tartars, properly so called; the tribes now occupying the chain of the Caucasus; Georgians, Circasssians, Armenians, Mingrelians, Turks, Arabians, Persians, Afghans, and Hindoos of high caste;

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the Egyptians, Abysinians, Guanches, and Northern Africans."* Dr. Prichard makes the same classification in regard to the white races, using, however, the term Iranian in preference to Caucasian. All these are distinguished from the Negro or black race. On this classification the ethnographers are entirely unanimous, though they differ more or less on many other points.

Hence it is undeniable that according to the most eminent authorities many Shemites are neither red nor yellow, and many Hamites were or are not black. This fact utterly destroys Mr. Sloan's main position.

The Phœnicians were known as a red race.† The Mauritanians, the descendants of Phut, known in modern times as the Moors of North Africa, are naturally of a light color.‡ The Egyptians were, it is true, indirectly described by Herodotus as a Negro race. But eminent Egyptologists and ethnologists deny the truth of his statement. "The ancient Egyptians had none of the osteological characters of the true Negro of the west coast and the interior of Africa, who often appears in the same paintings with the Egyptians themselves with traits wholly dissimilar."§ Another of the highest authority says: "Not only do the paintings pointedly distinguish the Egyptians from the blacks of Africa. and even from the copper-colored Ethiopians, both of whom are shown to have been of the same hue as their discendants; but the mummies prove that the Egyptians were *neither black nor wolly-haired*, and the formation of the head at once decides that they are of Asiatic origin. * * * * Blackness of color is, and always was, a very conventional term; for the Hebrews even called the Arabs 'black,' *kedar*, the '*cedrei*' of Pliny; though *kedar* may only mean of a dark or sun-burnt hue. The Negroes of Africa, in the paintings of Thebes, cannot be mistaken; and the Egyptians did not fail to heighten the caricature of that marked race by giving to

* New American Encyclopedia, Art, Anthropology.

† Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II., p. 353.

‡ New American Encyclopedia, Art., Complexion.

§ Kenrick's Ancient Egypt, Vol. I., p. 97.

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their scanty dress of hide the ridiculous addition of a tail."* Professor Eadie says that "all that can be gathered from such allusions (as those of Horodotus, Aeschylus, &c.,) is, that the Egyptian sun had bronzed the countenances of the dwellers on the Nile." "The Negro face as painted on the monuments, is always distinctly characteristic, and has no resemblance to the Egyptian countenance."† Even the Ethiopians of the Upper Nile, according to Sir G. Wilkinson were not black. Lepsius, the great Prussian Egyptologist, claims to have proved beyond doubt that the Ethiopians of Meroë were not Negroes but Caucasians.‡ No doubt that those Hamites who lived far to the south were of a darker hue than their northern Semitic and Japhetic neighbors, just as the Spaniards, French, Portuguese and Italians in the south of Europe and the United States are spoken of by Dr. Nott as *dark skinned* races.§ Dr. Pickering classes the Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, with the Arabian or white race; though like their ancestors, those who live up the Nile and are exposed to the sun, are much darker than those of Northern Egypt, who live chiefly in doors.‖ We might multiply evidence, showing that Mr. Sloan's historical argument is utterly unfounded. That Japheth was miraculously whitened, and Ham blackened, while Shem continued to have the color of Adam, is a dream of a slave-master's brain. The position can only be taken by those who are ignorant of history or are reckless of the truth.

We now proceed to consider the assertion that men of science have abandoned the idea that diversities of color are

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II., pp. 170, 171.

† Earlier Oriental History, pp. 63, 64.

‡ New American Ency., Art., Lepsius.

§ Types of Mankind, p. 373.

‖ Since writing the above we have had an interview with Rev. Thomas M'Cague, for six or seven years a United Presbyterian missionary to the Copts in Cairo, Egypt. He says that while the Copts have a sun-burnt hue, they have no resemblance to the negro race.

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due to climate, and that hence we are shut up to the necessity of looking to a miracle as the only mode of accounting for the difference in complexion. He says:—

"The difference of color which exists among the various tribes or divisions of the human family, was believed by learned men for a long series of years to be the effect of climate. But this theory is now generally abandoned by the learned of the world. The fact of the case will not sustain the opinion that the difference of color is to be attributed to the effects of climate. The African race has been the inhabitant of the wild climate of North America for more than a century, without any material change of color. While the white men of Europe have lived under the influence of a tropical sun since the first settlement of the country, without any material change of the color of their skins. It is true the sun tans them, but when they remove to a mild climate, or keep out of the sun, their skins become as white as ever, and the children of these men show no proof of being turned black by living in a tropical climate. The theory of climate, we say, has been abandoned by learned men as altogether inadequate to the production of this marked change, or rather difference in the color of the skin of the different races of the human family. There is no account of the immediate creation of the black race. Adam evidently was a *red* man; his very name indicates this: and according to the usage of the Hebrew language, proves it to the mind of every competent judge, that the human family are all descended from the same original pair. The Bible clearly proves, and the great plan of redemption by *one* Saviour proceeds on the same principle. We are, then, shut up to the necessity of seeking for the origin of the different colors among men in some remarkable change that has been brought about by the providence of God," (pp. 56, 57.)

On this statement, remarkable alike for its shallowness and recklessness, we venture a few remarks. In the first place, the assumption that the physical diversities of the human race are either to be attributed solely to climatic influence, or else to miraculous interposition, is not a fair statement of the question. Many other natural causes, as well as climate, effect changes in the physical peculiarities of men, such as food, hunger, ignorance and intelligence, vice and virtue, barbarism and civilization. The true question is, can the diversity of color among men be accounted

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for by natural causes, including both physical and moral? Here we affirm; Mr. Sloan denies. Or we may put it thus: Are we shut up to the necessity of seeking for the origin of different complexions in a miracle of God? Here Mr. Sloan affirms; we deny.

The assertion or assumption of Mr. Sloan that scientific men have generally abandoned the belief that these diversities can be accounted for by natural causes, is simply contrary to fact. A few pretentious infidels, such as Gliddon and Nott, who deny the unity of mankind, affirm that natural causes do not change the color, and Dr. Hamilton of Mobile, who, like Mr. Sloan, has a theory of miracle to support, has favored the same position.* But Hugh Miller, Dr. Prichard, Carpenter, Müller, and generally all the great names are decidedly against Mr. Sloan. Inasmuch as this question is not only interesting to the inquisitive, but important in its bearing on the question of slavery, and also the unity of mankind, we will lay before the reader some indubitable testimony which will serve to settle the question between us, both as to the opinions of learned men, and the causes of the variety of complexion.

The physiologists teach us invariably that man is a cosmopolite; that, in virtue of his original constitution, he "hath," as Bacon expresses it, "his infinite variations." Dr. Carpenter, who stands in the very front rank of English physiologists, says:—

"There is ample evidence that analogous changes may take place in the course of time, which tend to produce a great variety of shades of color, in the descendants of any one stock. Thus, in the great Indo-Atlantic family, which may be unquestionably regarded as having a common origin, we find races with fair complexion, yellow hair, and blue eyes,—others presenting the xanthons or olive hue,—and others decidedly black. A similar diversity may be seen among the American races, which are equally referrible to one common stock; and it exists to nearly the same extent among the African nations, which are similarly related to each other. It may be freely admitted that among European colonists settled in hot climates, such changes do not

* Friend of Moses.

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present themselves within a few generations; but in many well-known instances of earlier colonization, they are very clearly manifested. Thus the wide dispersion of the Jewish nation, and their remarkable isolation (maintained by their religious observances) from the people among whom they live, render them peculiarly appropriate subjects for such observations; and we accordingly find that the brunette complexion and dark hair, which are usually regarded as characteristic of the race, are frequently superseded in the Jews of Northern Europe, by red or brown hair and fair complexion; whilst the Jews who settled in India some centuries ago, have become as dark as the Hindoos around them.

"The relation of the complexions of the different races of men to the climates they respectively inhabit, is clearly established by an extended comparative survey of both." * * * * "The swarthy hue which many Europeans acquire beneath exposure to the sun in tropical climates, is due to a development of dark pigment-cells, and to this we usually find the greatest disposition in individuals or races that are already of a somewhat dark complexion. The deep blackness of the Negro skin seems dependent on nothing else than a similar cause operating through successive generations."*

Hugh Miller, whose standing cannot be questioned, says:

"Wherever man has, if I may so speak, *fallen* least, wherever he has retained, at least intellectually, the divine image, this Caucasian type of feature and figure, with, of course, certain national modifications, he also retains. It was developed in a remarkable degree among the old Greeks, as may be seen from the busts of some of their handsome men, and still more remarkably in their *beau ideal* of beauty, as exemplified in the statues of their gods. We see it also, though dashed with a shade of severity in the strong forms and stern features of monarchs that reigned of old in Nineveh and Babylon, as brought to light in their impressive effigies by the excavations of Rawlinson and Layard, and further, though somewhat modified by the African dash, we detect it in the colossal statues of Egypt. Nor as shown by Egyptian paintings still fresh in color and outline, was it less traceable in the ancient Jewish countenance and figure."† Again, "in circumstances such as obtained in the

* Principles of Human Physiology, Sections 80, 81, 164.

† Testimony of the Rocks, p. 267.

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earlier ages of the human family, all the existing nomades and paupers of our country would have passed into distinct races of men. For, in the course of a few generations, their forms and *complexions* would begin to tell of the self-induced degradation that had taken place in their minds; and in a few ages more they would have become permanent varieties of the species. There are cases in which not more than from two to three centuries have been found sufficient thoroughly to alter the original physiognomy of a race." *

Dr. J. Müller, the great physiologist of Berlin, cited by Humboldt in his Cosmos as the very highest authority, says:—"No necessity exists for deriving all the black people on the globe, or all the brown, or all the white races from the same root; on the contrary, since we have seen that varieties may arise among the progeny of one stock, it is easy to conceive how it is possible for nature to produce similar forms in nations which are far removed from each other, and according to the records of history have never mingled." †

The learned and cautious Dr. Prichard, the greatest of ethnologists, does not hesitate to attribute all the endless diversities of the human race to natural causes. His testimony is as clear as his reputation is high. On the point at present in dispute he gives the following conclusion as the result of all his life-long researches:

"With respect to color, it is still more easy to trace the greatest variations within the limits of one race. There is, perhaps, not one great family of nations, having its branches spread through different climates, which does not display in this particular the most strongly marked varieties. It is true that among European colonists settled in hot climates such varieties are not preceptible within a few generations; but in many well known instances of earlier colonization they are very clearly manifested. We have traced them in the instances of the Jews and Arabs, in the tribes of Hindus, or rather of India, compared with those of the Himalayan countries. We might add innumerable facts tending to bring out the same result. Under this head, it would be

* Testimony of the Rocks, p. 272.

† Volume II., p. 1670. London Edition.

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quite fair to take the whole Indo-European family of nations as one example, since from one identical stock must have sprung the Gothic, the Iranian races, and the Arian stem of India, including the xanthous Siah-Posh of Kafiristan, the yellow-haired and blue-eyed villagers of Jumnotri and Gangotri and the black Hindus of Anu-gangam.

"It has often been said that the native tribes of America present an exception to the general observation deduced from a survey of the nations of the Old World, and that the complexion of the Americans displays no relation to climate. We have proved, on the contrary, that tribes alike belonging to the American stock manifest the influence of external agencies not less distinctly than do the white nations of Europe compared with the dark races of Africa. Witness the comparison of the white Americans of the north-east coast with the black Californians.

"If any one should call in question that the color of human races has any relation to the climates of different countries, we have only need to appeal to the most general and broadly marked facts which the history of mankind presents.

"Thus it is obvious that the inter-tropical regions of the earth is the principal seat of the black races of men, and the region remote from the tropics that of the white races, and that the climates approaching to the tropics are generally inhabited by nations which are neither of the darkest, nor of the fairest complexion, but of an intermediate one. To this observation it may be added that high mountains, and countries of great elevation, are generally inhabited by people of lighter color than those where the land is low, such as sandy or swampy plains on the sea coast. Thus, if we begin with Africa, we shall find a great number of distinct races, as far as a total diversity of languages can be thought to distinguish men into separate races, spread over that great continent; and it may be observed that those whose abode is between the tropics, though differing from each other in many peculiarities, agree in the darkness of their complexion. In fact, if we divide Africa into three portions, we may define by the tropics the extent of the black complexion of its inhabitants."*

The distinguished Humboldt, while admitting that the extremes of color and form did, before the matter was fully investigated, seem to argue in favor of a plurality of species,

* Prichard's Natural History of Man, London edition, 1855. Vol. II., pp. 645–647.

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holds that later and fuller researches warrant the conclusion that there is but one species of mankind and that all the diversities of the race can be accounted for by natural forces.*

Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, who, though not of great scientific authority, is distinguished as an advocate of Negro Slavery, says, "We have ourselves no difficulty in supposing that every present variety of the races of men may have originated through the working of natural causes upon the naturally susceptible constitution of primitive man."† Dr. Cabell, Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Virginia, also an apologist for Negro Slavery, though not on the ground maintained by this book, has recently adduced a vast array of witnesses from the various departments of modern science, showing conclusively that natural causes are sufficient to explain the diversities of men. He expressly says "that inasmuch as it has been shown that man has the power of undergoing acclimation in every quarter of the globe, and had the means of facilitating his migrations from his original birth-place, while moreover, he is constitutionally susceptible of undergoing variations in bodily structure, and in intellectual and moral tendencies, which variations once acquired, are subsebuently perpetuated by descent, it is contrary to the observed ways of Providence to multiply miracles, and especially the highest of all miracles, in order to achieve a result which was clearly practicable by natural processes."‡ Again: "*No one can point out at this day the actual lineal descendants of the individual men of the negro and other races depicted on them,* (the Egyptian monuments.) For aught that can be proved to the contrary, the actual descendants of the blacks who lived contemporaneously with the authors of the inscriptions may now exhibit the characteristics of any other type," (p. 300). Dr. Prichard shows that a people now residing in Nubia have undergone a transition from negro

* Cosmos. Harper's edition. 1861. Vol. I., pp. 351--359.

† Unity of the Human Race.

‡ Unity of Mankind, New York, 1859, pp., 296, 297.

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characteristics to Caucasian features.* Professor Cabell also shows that the Magyars of Hungary, originally beyond all doubt Mongolian, are now, in the course of a thousand years, so changed in structure and appearance as to be classed with Caucasians. To the remark that Negroes in this country have not changed, Prof. Cabell replies, first, that it is the opinion of many acute observers that a change is already observable; and secondly, that "the fact that dark-skinned people do not lose their characteristic hue by living for many successive generations in temperate climates, is not at all inconsistent with the supposition, that this hue might have been originally acquired as the effect of climatic or other external conditions. For a positive mark once acquired is apt to be perpetuated by hereditary transmission, and is, therefore, not lost by the mere withdrawal of the influences under which it was originally formed," (p. 133.)

Now, without multiplying evidence, as we might easily do, it must be evident to every reader that Mr. Sloan's position as to the opinions of scientific men in relation to the diversities of complexion, and the manner of accounting for the phenomena of color, is utterly unwarranted. There is no necessity whatever of a miracle in order to account for the variety of complexions, unless it be the necessity of those who are determined at every hazard to find a scriptural warrant for inflicting a curse on their fellow-men. Science, through her most eminent savans, almost without exception, declares that natural causes afford a sufficient explanation of the endless hues of the face of man.

Having, as he supposes, found the "origin of color" in Noah's family, and having asserted that all Ham's posterity are black, our author feels prepared to show us the "origin of slavery," or, as he softly phrases it, "the subordination of one portion of the human family to that of another." We do not stop to inquire what is the force of "that of" in the above phrase, though from the frequency of its occurrence it seems to be a favorite with Mr. Sloan. The proof of his position, he thinks, is found in Genesis ix. 25–27. "Cursed

* Unity of Mankind, p. 116–122.

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be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

"These verses," says Mr. Sloan, "evidently contain the true and authentic record of the origin of the subjection of the children of Ham to the rule of his two other brothers and their descendants. Here also is the destruction of the favorite theory that all men are born free and equal. * * The declaration of Noah was not merely prophetical—that is, *foretelling* what would be the condition of Ham's posterity —but it was the announcement of a judicial decree of Jehovah against Ham and his posterity, as a *punishment for his sins.* Slavery, then, is the result, consequence, or more properly, the judicial punishment of Ham's sin, not a sin in itself, (*per se,*) but the punishment of sin," (pp. 67, 68.)

In plain words, Mr. Sloan's position is, that every Hamite was cursed; that the nature of that curse was everlasting bondage to Shem and Japheth; that the Shemites and Jephethites are the innocent executives of the terrible judicial decree. This is the tap-root of the tree that, in Mr. Sloan's eyes, is so fair in its greatness, in the length of its branches, that the cedars in the garden of God cannot hide it. If we can cut this root, the tree falls never to sprout again. The slaveholder, he says, "claims the right to hold slaves from the fact that God, by a judicial sentence, subjected the descendants of Ham to those of Shem and Japheth," (p. 163,) and hence, "in holding the descendants of Ham in bondage, there is no sin," and this on the principle that "an executive officer is not chargable with crime for hanging a murderer who has been tried and condemned by the proper authority," (p. 85, 86.)

Our first inquiry here concerns the extent of the curse. Mr. Sloan affirms that all the children of Ham were degraded and judicially placed under the yoke. But Canaan alone of all Ham's sons is named. How, then, does our author make it include every Hamite? He has three arguments. (1.) "That a large majority of the descendants of Canaan were destroyed by the Israelites when they

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entered Palestine under Joshua, so that if they were *exterminated* they could not become *servants* to the posterity of Shem and Japheth." But certainly if the prophecy could not be realized in Canaan when a part of the Canaanites were cut off, it could not be realized in Ham when a part of the Hamites were cut off. Many nations descended from Ham have become extinct, and cannot now be servants to Shem and Japheth, therefore, according to Mr. Sloan, the prophecy or curse of Noah cannot be realized! (3.) The next argument "is founded on the fact that all Ham's posterity are either *black*, or dark-colored, and thus bear the mark of inferiority which God put upon the progenitor," (p. 78.) We have shown that Mr. Sloan's assertion that Ham's descendants were all black, has not a whit of evidence in its favor. His second argument, therefore, having no foundation, must totter to the ground. (2.) His last reason for extending the curse so far, is another striking philological argument. From the Hebrew names of Ham's four sons he concludes that all were cursed. He says that Cush signifies *black*, Mizraim *restrained*, Phut *despised*, and Canaan *bowed down*. Therefore they were all blackened and doomed to slavery. "Bearing the mark of degradation on their skin, they are restrained from being on an equality with their more favored brethren; they are often *despised* and prevented from intermarrying or mingling with the white or red races; and, finally, they are bowed down to the authority of their superiors without successful resistance," (p. 80.) A very little consideration will show the utter absurdity of this reasoning. On this principle a man might make an eqally good argument for the wildest dream of the theorist. Laban means white, and therefore, although according to Mr. Sloan's former philological argument, Laban, being a Shemite, was red, he must have been a Japhethite, or an albino. To prove that Canaan means bowed down as a slave, Mr. Sloan refers us to 1 Kings xxi. 29, where the Lord says: "Seest thou how Ahab hath humbled himself before me? Because he humbleth himself before me I will not bring the evil in his days." Now, it is evident, that the term here presents Ahab as a penitent. So, also, good

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King Josiah was of a tender heart, and "humbled himself before the Lord." Hence Mr. Sloan should have rather inferred that the Canaanites were a humble, penitent people! Nothing characteristic can be learned from Phut as a proper name. The word Mizraim is of doubtful etymology, though Gesenius says it was probably used as signifying, "*border, limit.*" Cush is often said to mean black. But we cannot argue conclusively from the fact that the word is rendered by the term Ethiopia. The fact that our translators render *Mizraim*, by the word *Egypt*, (Aigyptos, Gypt, Copt,) does not prove that the etymological signification of the former is to be found in the latter. Moses' wife was a Cushite, (Num. xii. 1.); will Mr. Sloan say she was a Negress? Was Cush, the Benjamite, a Negro? Geographically, the term was applied in various ways from the Indus to the unknown regions of Central Africa. Rawlinson and Loftus hold that the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia were unquestionably Cushites* (Gen. x. 8, 10.); and it seems these were not negroes. Granting that the word is used in the Scriptures in some cases to denote a country inhabited by blacks, it would be still unfair to make it expressive of negro characteristics. Very probably there was in time as great a diversity among the Cushites as among those of the Aryan stock, from whom came the Persians and the Hindoos, the latter being so dark that their country is called by the former Hindostan, *i. e., Negroland, or land of the blacks.* We, therefore, reject this third argument.

Mr. Sloan, therefore, has failed to fasten the curse on all the Hamitic nations. The malediction is pronounced upon Canaan alone. How, then, dare any man go beyond the word of the Lord to curse whom God has not cursed?

There is an obvious reason for the prominence which is given to Canaan, in the ninth Chapter of Genesis. In the 18th and 22d verses, we find the phrase, *Ham the father of Canaan.* He is named thrice in Noah's prediction. Does

* Rawlinson's Historical Evidences, pp. 71, 279; Loftus' Travels in Chaldea and Susiana, pp. 96—99.

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not his peculiar relation to the Hebrews afford an explanation of this prominence? Shem is called "the father of all the children of Heber," (Gen. x. 21.) to show the ancestry of the Hebrews. As it was a matter of historical importance to record the genealogy of the Hebrews, so it was desirable to point out the ancestry of the Canaanites with whom the Hebrews had so much to do.

But the curse, what was it? Pro-slavery writers assume that the servitude mentioned by Noah is slavery, that kind of servitude which involves the loss of personal liberty to the enslaved, and regards and treats him as the property of the master. Now, is there any evidence in Noah's prediction that slavery is the kind of servitude intended? We answer, no, not at all. The phrase, "servant of servants," is idiomatic, like "holy of holies," and means simply a very great servant, or one that is in an exceedingly servile condition. The word *evedh* is generic, not specific; it is applied to all kinds of servitude spoken of in the Old Testament. It may denote a servant, surety, hostage, hired man, laborer, farmer, soldier, officer, believer, minister, magistrate or the Messiah. How, then, can the slave-master, from a term so general, argue that the particular thing here intended was degradation to the condition of chattel property? Esau was to be the servant, *evedh*, of Jacob. "The elder shall serve the younger," said the Lord to Rebekah. Did this authorize Jacob to buy and sell Esau, provided, of course, that, like Mr. Sloan, he would not abuse the lash? Joshua was the minister, *evedh*, of Moses—was he, therefore, Moses' property? Was Elisha the slave of his master, Elijah? Evidently, the word *evedh*, like our English term "servant," was general, and cannot fairly be limited as Mr. Sloan's assumption does. Paul was the servant, not the *slave*, of all. But suppose that we admit that the thing contemplated by Noah was slavery; Has Mr. Sloan a warrant for Negro slavery? (1.) We have already seen that the curse does not extend beyond the Canaanites. Hence, unless our friend will produce proof that his slaves are Canaanites, he lacks all authority to degrade and curse his Negroes. But this proof he will hardly attempt. This

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consideration alone destroys his favorite theory. (2.) Mr. Sloan holds that the words of Noah were a judicial curse, a judicial decree, not a mere prophecy. His whole argument depends on a supposed distinction in this case between a judicial decree and a prophecy. Mr. Sloan says that "in fulfilling a prophecy, the instruments may be, and frequently are, guilty of the most heinous sin. While those who carry a judicial sentence into execution cannot be chargable with sin, unless they go beyond and abuse the power confided to them." "An executive officer is not chargeable with crime for hanging a murderer who has been tried and condemned by the proper authority." (p. 85.) Mr. Sloan, accordingly, claiming that the Hamites were universally blackened, degraded, and cursed with slavery under Shem and Japheth, argues that the enslaver of the Negro is as innocent as the sheriff who executes the penalty of death upon a murderer. But is not this, in this case, at least, a distinction without a difference? Is the passage in dispute not a prophecy? Certainly all the writers whom we have consulted speak of it as a prediction. Mr. Sloan regards the part which refers to Shem and Japheth as a prophecy; how then can he make the part relating to Ham so totally different? "God shall enlarge Japheth and He shall dwell in the tents of Shem: and Canaan shall be His servant." Now says this Mississippian divine, the first part of these words is prophecy, but the second is not; it is a judicial decree, with a commission for Japheth to enslave not Canaan only, but also Phut, Mizraim and Cush. Drowning men catch at straws, and certainly the slave-driver is hard pushed when he resorts to such an opiate for his uneasy conscience.

But suppose we grant that the words of Noah are a judicial sentence of God. Does it follow that the degrader and enslaver of the Negro is innocent? Mr. Sloan says that the person or thing "cursed" falls under the wrath and indignation of God. (p. 75.) His argument then is that where God pronounces wrath against a person or a nation at the hand of others, the latter have a divine commission to pour out the vials upon the cursed. But the argument that

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proves too much, proves nothing. On this principle, every instance of persecuting and oppressing the Jews from the days of Titus till now would be justified. They are plainly under the curse recorded in Deuteronomy; they have fallen "under the wrath and indignation of God." If Canaan was under a judicial sentence, so has Israel been; and hence if the executioner of the curse in the one case is innocent, he must be equally so in the other. This is precisely the ground on which many infatuated men in different lands, England not excepted, attempted to justify the outrageous wrongs that were for centuries inflicted upon the peculiar people.* Of course, the better class of persecutors, like Mr. Sloan, held that the Jew should be "cursed" in a polite and Christian way. Another illustration. God pronounced His woes upon Israel, and said of the Assyrian, "I will send him against an hypocritical nation and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge." (Isa. x. 6.) Here the Assyrian was the appointed instrument to execute the judicial sentence. Yet God threatens punishment against him for his wickedness in this very thing. According to the theory of Mr. Sloan, the Assyrian was as sinless as the hangman of the court who hangs the murderer. If it should be said that the Hebrew innocently drove out the Canaanites and possessed their land, we answer that their justification is found in the special command of God. Besides, the curse pronounced by Noah is never once referred to as the reason of the Hebrews dealing as they did with the Canaanites. The Lord said that the land is defiled: "therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it." If the slave-dealer will produce such a command against Ham as Joshua had against Canaan, or Saul had against Amalek, we will grant that he is the innocent executive of Heaven's wrath, but until this is done, he by his own showing, places himself in the same category with the Assyrian, the wicked instrument of affliction to his fellow men.

The consequences that legitimately flow from Mr. Sloan's

* See Macaulay's Essay on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews.

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main doctrine are absurd, and therefore the doctrine itself is to be rejected. We name the following: 1. All Hamites, Copts, Moors, &c., should be enslaved by the yellow and white races. 2. Shem and Japheth sin if they do not enslave Ham. Just as the "executive officer" who may, without sin, hang a murderer, is a transgressor if he fails to execute the law, so must Shem and Japheth be guilty of rebellion against God if they, being duly commissioned, refuse to carry out his judicial decree. God found fault with Saul because he did not enforce the sentence against Amalek. 3. It is wrong to liberate any slave, and all who have been freed should be immediately reduced to their appointed bondage. 4. The attempt to set up the free republic of Liberia is an attempt to set aside the judicial sentence of God. 5. The slave trade, whether inter-state or international, is lawful. Evidently, if the curse is put into execution, millions of Hamites must be carried to the tents of Shem and Japheth, for otherwise the execution would be impossible. Hence, Negro-breeding in Virginia for the Mississippi market, or buying ship loads from the King of Dahomey, is as lawful as trading in sugar or cotton. While sending our missionaries to the Copts, we might, with propriety, bring—nay, rather we are in duty bound to bring—cargoes of the sons of Mizraim home and stock our farms with them, and grow rich on the product of their brains, their hands and their reproductive energy. These and other conclusions equally absurd or revolting to all the feelings of our better nature follow, of necessity, from the doctrine that Ham was judicially blackened, degraded, and cursed with everlasting bondage, Shem and Japheth being appointed the "executive officers" in the case.

Mr. Sloan lays great stress upon the fact that this judicial sentence, as he calls it, has never been repealed, neither by Moses nor by the Saviour and his apostles. But certainly it would be strange to find a repeal of what never had an existence. We will not, therefore, notice the passages which he cites to prove that Moses, and Christ and his apostles sanction the views he maintains. These have often been

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considered and shown to give no countenance to human bondage. There is, however, one consideration that he flaunts in our face with such an air of satisfaction that it may deserve a moment's notice. He alleges that the apostles found slavery in the countries where they preached, but never denounced the custom of depriving men of liberty as sinful. It is, therefore, argued that Paul and others sanctioned slavery—not its abuses, but the thing itself. To this we answer, if it proves anything, it proves too much for Mr. Sloan. The slaves of the regions where Paul preached were principally white, Japhethites and Shemites. The Greeks (Javan) sold their slaves, doubtless from their own countries and their own stock, in the markets of Tyre. Ezek. xxvii. 13. Ham was uppermost then, and did to his brethren what they have so often done to him. Hence, if any slavery was sanctioned by Paul, it was white, not Negro slavery. But Mr. Sloan holds very properly that God never took away the liberty of Shem or Japheth. Hence, he makes Paul sanction what most white men, when applied to themselves, regard as one of the blackest of crimes. "Give me liberty, or give me death," said Patrick Henry.

The idea of confining slavery to a black skin is a modern refinement. Aristotle thought that men of superior intellect should be masters, and the rest slaves. Plato, who was once sold under the hammer as a slave, held that no Greeks should be put under the yoke. Millions of the Caucasian race were in slavery in the days of Paul, and if he sanctioned any deprivation of liberty, the Caucasian, rather than the Negro, is by him doomed to suffer.

Throughout the book, the inferiority and degradation of the Hamites are continually presented, displaying gross ignorance of history. Nothing is better established than the fact that the early Cushites of the East were second to none of their Asiatic contemporaries of the same region. Egypt stands out as the great wonder of antiquity, greater in genius, more marvelous in achievement, than Greece, or Rome, or Babylon. "Egypt!—the land which, next to

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Palestine, fills the noblest niche in history."* The Ethiopians of the Upper Nile were once powerful and highly civilized. The Phœnicians, another Hamite people, were long unrivalled as the mathematicians, the astronomers, the artists, the merchants, navigators and colonists of the world. Ham gave Greece her letters. Phenician architects and mechanics were employed in building David's palace in Jerusalem. (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chron. xiv. 1.) Solomon freely confessed their mechanical superiority, (1 Kings v. 6,) and Hiram's skilful seamen led the fleets of Solomon to distant Ophir. And what is especially interesting, the genius of Ham was employed to furnish the highest decorations of the temple of God, (1 Kings vii. 13, 40.) Nor did the Hebrews look down upon the Hamitic nations as degraded, fit only to be trodden under foot. Abraham paid marked honors to Melchisedek a Canaanite. Moses married a Cushite; Joseph and Moses both chose daughters of Ham, and the latter when led astray took additional wives from Phœnicia and Canaan, as well as from the pure Semitic stock. No doubt, through various causes, chiefly moral, most of the descendants of Ham greatly degenerated, like many of the other nations, but to assert that they were from the beginning, intellectually and socially inferior to their brethren, is to belie all history; and to assert that even now they are naturally inferior to other varieties, is to contradict the testimony of the most eminent physiologists. True, the modern Negro is degraded. How could it be otherwise? Trodden in the dust for many generations, it would be strange if he were now found on a level with more favored races. The same process would debase the Anglo-Saxons as it did many of the Greeks and Romans. It is an old Greek saying, that, to make a man a slave, is to deprive him of half his reason. The slave-master chains the eagle to the rock and then reproaches him because he does not soar to the skies.

We deem it unnecessary to make any formal rejoinder to his attack on the position of our church on slavery. It is

* Horatius Bonar, D.D.

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with a poor grace that he charges United Presbyterians with "teaching rebellion against the laws of the land, and violating openly, and in their collective capacity, the plain laws of the Bible," (p. 268.) Recent events have shown what a profound regard the slave-masters of the Cotton States have for the Constitution of the United States. Loyalists can afford to laugh at the anathemas of traitors, of men who have meanwhile made war upon a free government, —the admiration of the world,—for the purpose of forming a new government, with Negro bondage for its chief cornerstone! David did well in refusing to retort the curse of Shimei.

We have dwelt, perhaps, too long on this pitiful book. Our only apology is, that if the book does not deserve so much attention, the subject of which it treats is unspeakably important. We hold that Mr. Sloan has failed to make good his point. It can only be sustained by a monstrous perversion of philology, history, science, and the plainest principles of exegesis and logic. We thank him for the admission that all Shemites and Japhethites have an equal claim to liberty. We thank him, too, for the admission that unless God has taken away the right of the Hamites to freedom, that slavery is a flagrant iniquity. And hence, since we feel that we have shown that this has not been done, we must regard Mr. Sloan, and all who like him claim the right to lord it over the Negro, as arrogant usupers. The right to enslave a black skin is not a whit greater or clearer than to degrade and put under the yoke a white or a yellow one. The Turk of Constantinople, who sends to the Caucasus for rosy skins to supply his harem, has precisely the same right that a Mississippi planter or divine has to add to his wealth by importations from Guinea. In so doing, the Turk ministers to one lust, and the Mississippian to another, and both, when they wish it, can, by specious logic, make the Bible sanction what they would blush to advocate on their own responsibility.

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Article III.—The Hebrew Servant.

In a former article notice was taken of the different ways in which persons were brought into bondage among the Hebrews, and this chiefly designed to show that the servitude of such was not in all cases voluntary. To understand their condition, and the laws relating to them, some of which it is proposed to consider, it is necessary to keep in view the different kinds of servants mentioned in the Scriptures. Some who have written on this subject have confused both themselves and their readers by applying what has been said of one class of servants to servants generally. Thus it seems to be taken for granted that if Abraham and the Israelites had any slaves, then all their servants were slaves; and if they could not all be managed as slaves, according to our modern system of slavery, then they had no slaves at all. Now, this reasoning, though advanced with good design, does not rest on a good foundation; for it is evident that there was a great variety in the grades of Hebrew servants, and in this respect the modern system has nothing analogous to it. Let us, then, see what light the Scriptures will give us on this subject.

It is evident that bondage is often used figuratively for great affliction of any kind, and the terms *lord* and *servant* are often used in the way of courtesy. Without attending to this use of these terms, it may be noticed that all the subjects of a prince, and especially those who were in the highest honor and nearest his person were called his servants. The soldiers of David were called his servants by Uriah, and all his subjects were so called by Joab. The Moabites, Philistines, and other nations subdued by David became his servants. So Goliath called the Israelites the servants of Saul. But especially those who occupied the

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most honorable places under a king were so called. Pharoah made a feast for his servants—that is, for his chief men. Joshua was the servant of Moses, David the servant of Saul, Jeroboam the servant of Solomon, Tobiah a chief man among the Ammonites was called "the servant." This usage appears to have descended to persons of inferior rank, and all who were in any way in their employment were designated by this as an honorable title. Elisha was the servant of Elijah; Ziba, who had himself twenty servants, was the servant of Mephibosheth. There is no more propriety in referring to these cases to illustrate the bond service which prevailed in Israel, than in citing the case of the prime minister or servant of the king of England to illustrate the system of servitude in that country.

There is also a national servitude or bondage frequently noticed in the Scriptures. There were those in different nations who were kept in a comparatively degraded condition, but were not the property of particular masters. Such was the condition of the Israelites in Egypt. They were bondmen, yet they had a territory of their own; they had their homes, their cattle and other possessions; their elders or rulers also, who met to deliberate about their affairs. They were subjects greatly oppressed and persecuted, but not slaves. They were not sold to individuals, separated from their families, scattered through the land, and treated as mere chattels. Such also was the condition of the Gibeonites and others who, under the general name of Nethinims, were made to do the drudgery of the nation of Israel, but did not become the property of masters.

There was also a domestic servitude among the Hebrews which was of various kinds. One of the first kind of servants of which we read is designated by the Talmudists the *melug*, or *usualis*, a servant of whom one has the use without the right of ownership. Such was Hagar in the house of Abraham. She belonged to Sarah, and was under her control. Abraham was bound to maintain her, and had the use of her services, but might not sell her. The same was the situation of the handmaids of Jacob's wives. And

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Buxtorf, in his Rabbinical lexicon, pp. 1206–7, mentions that the Jews allege that their Gentile servants were sometimes held in the same way.

Amongst the domestic servants we find frequent mention of such as were hired, and these were either Israelites or strangers. Deut. xxiv. 14. These were probably hired for different periods of time, as some of them are distinguished as yearly hired servants. The bond servant was worth double of a hired servant, not because of the length of the time of service, but because he was bought for about half what was paid as wages, and became more completely identified with his master's family. Another class of domestic servants consisted of those who were held in bondage; and these, also, were of different kinds. There were females who were not to go out in the seventh year as the men-servants did; probably in consequence of their minority, or their marriage, by which their masters had been exposed to the trouble and expense of rearing their children. There were again Hebrew bond-servants, both men and women, who obtained their freedom at the end of six years. There was also in this class a branch of servants, both male and female, (Deut. xv. 17,) who wished not to go out, and whose masters were obliged to keep them; although it is not to be overlooked that the master was voluntary in bringing himself under this necessity. It was only in the case of the master's having provided for their marriage that this necessity was laid upon him. And no doubt if he found them of such a character that he would be unwilling to keep them, he would decline such a step as would oblige him to do it. Another class of bond-servants consisted of the heathen. These were evidently held on different terms from those who were Hebrews. They were not treated with equal respect, and were to be a possession forever.

It seems evident from the consideration of the difference between these classes of servants, that it is necessary to use much caution in reasoning on this subject, lest we found general propositions upon facts which relate only to particular classes. For instance, in settling the question whether

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such servants as were bought with money became the property of the master, and in judging of the condition of such in Israel, it is not a correct mode of reasoning to quote the case of Eliezer, Ziba, Joshua, David, Elisha, and others who were called servants, unless we have evidence that they were bond-servants, bought with money. It does not follow because some servants were in honorable standing that all were so. Some servants might not only eat with their masters, but make feasts for them. Yet, that this was not the case with servants of another class, is perfectly obvious. The usages of society would have been outraged by such familiarity. "Which of you," says our Saviour, "having a servant plowing, or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go, and sit down to meat? And will he not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me till I have eaten and drunken; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things which were commanded him? I trow not." If it were inferred from some cases that servants were allowed to eat with their masters, we might with equal fairness infer from the words of our Lord the very opposite. It is evident that it was altogether unusual for masters to sit at the table with their laboring servants. "Which of you," says our Saviour, "will do it?"

The condition of bond-servants was evidently more humiliating than that of those who were hired. It was enjoined that Hebrew servants should "not be sold as bondmen,"—that is, with such humiliating circumstances as attended the sale of bondmen; nor when sold, were they to serve as bond-servants, but as hired servants and sojourners. Lev. xxv. 39–42. It is true the hired servant did not become a member of the family, and was not allowed to partake with them of the passover and other feasts, yet his situation was more independent. He had not forfeited his freedom, and if harshly treated could change his situation. The reason why the prodigal son proposes, under his deep humiliation, to ask a place among the hired servants instead of the bond-servants, appears to be that he felt unworthy to

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be admitted as a member of the family, even in the lowest grade, and therefore mentions a situation in which he might obtain bread without any claim upon the family as a member of it.

The whole of the laws of Israel relating to servitude show that servants of every kind must have been treated with great mildness. These laws, with hardly an exception, were made to protect the servant rather than to enforce the authority of the master. The people were not to rule over their brethren with rigor; they were to show compassion to the stranger, and surely would not be released from this duty when the stranger became a servant and member of their family.

What the food and clothing of servants were we are not informed. It is said of the virtuous women that "She giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens; and she is not afraid of the snow for her household, for *all her household* are clothed with scarlet," or *double garments.* That no special law is given on this subject is highly creditable to the Hebrews. The very necessity of some laws is a severe reproach to those who live under them. The Hebrews did not need a law requiring them to give a suit of clothing, and a pair of shoes to their servants every year, and a peck of rice or corn every week. They were taught not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; and in the midst of the fullness of everything they would hardly think of putting their servants on allowance. The prodigal son describes what was, no doubt, the general state of servants in Israel: "How many hired servants in my father's house have bread enough and to spare!"

That they treated their servants with mildness we may also infer from the fact, that we never read of any servile insurrections among them, or of any precautions to prevent them. This does not prove that some of their servants were not involuntary. It may be that this class was not numeous; and being well treated, and many of them having the prospect of obtaining their freedom, either by redemption or the lapse of time, the inducement to rebel was not sufficient to cause any serious apprehension, not even when all

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the males were required three times in the year to go up to Jerusalem, leaving their lands and their families exposed.

It is not to be supposed that all the earnings of the servant went to the master. Both the Old and New Testaments represent it as highly iniquitous to use the service of any one without wages. See Jer. xxii. 43; Col. iv. 1; James v. 4. It may be laid down as a maxim that God could never sanction such injustice as our requiring the service of others without rendering an equivalent. It is impossible now to ascertain with certainty all the laws and customs which regulated the compensation of servants in Israel, but we may be sure that masters were required to do that which was "just and equal." Much might be left to the judgment and discretion of the master, especially in the presents to be made to his servants when their time was expired. Yet the moral law gave the master no liberty to take advantage of the condition of the servant to exact of him labor without an equivalent. It is evident, indeed, that bond-servants were not paid wages as those that were hired. But, in the case of the Hebrew bond-servants, what was equivalent to wages was paid when they were bought. We may suppose the credit of a debtor would be according to the value of the labor of the six years for which he might be sold, or of the time intervening before the jubilee, when it was at hand; so that, when he had incurred a debt equal in amount to the value of his services for that period of time, his creditor would forbear no longer, and the price of the debtor would, therefore, be equal to the debt. If the time were greater in value than the debt, compensation might be made in the presents given when the servant was released. In the case of the thief nothing is said of the length of time for which he was to be sold. Probably he was sold for a time equal in value to the sum he was bound to restore. In the case of the heathen, as there is no doubt that a price was paid for them, it would have been placing the master under a great disadvantage to require of him a full payment for their labors. This would render the purchase money a total loss. How, then, may we suppose the

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master to have remunerated such servants after a fair deduction for the price paid? It may be that in the spirit of liberality which pervades the Judaical law much time was allowed to the servant himself, and what he might earn during this time was his own. Even the Roman servants were allowed to own property. They were to receive five denarii a month, and were permitted to have what was called their *peculium*, out of which they were expected to make presents to their masters. That the Hebrew servants might likewise acquire property is evident from the law allowing them to redeem themselves. It is true that the strict slave code makes the slave property, and denies to him the owning or owing of anything; yet, where masters are not wholly lost to all sense of justice and honor, it is allowed even in our own country that the slave may both earn and keep something of his own.

It was ordained, (Exodus xxi. 20, 21,) that "if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, (*nakom yinnakem*,) avenging he shall be avenged, or, he shall be surely punished;" his death must be avenged by the death of his murderer. There was one manner of law in respect to trespasses, assaults, and murder both for strangers and Hebrews. This alone would determine the punishment for killing a servant to be death, and not, as some have supposed, a punishment according to the will and pleasure of the judge. It appears that masters were accustomed to punish their servants by beating them, but if even with a rod such severity were used that the servant died, it was to be accounted and punished as murder. But if the servant should continue a day or two, the master was not to be punished, "for," it is said, "he (the servant) is his money." If the weapon were a deadly one, this law did not shield the master; but if only a rod were used, and the servant survived a day or two, considering the weapon used, and the master's temporal interest in the life of his servant, these things would be strong presumptive evidences of no intention to murder.

If the master in any way were guilty of maiming a ser-

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vant—as, for example, causing an eye to perish, or smiting out a tooth—the servant was to have his liberty. Exodus xxi. 26, 27. This law must be understood in a general sense of the maiming of any part of the body. And it shows how carefully the interests of servants were guarded, when so small a loss as that of a tooth secured their freedom. How different from the laws of most other ancient nations, which gave the power of life and death into the hands of the master! How different from our own laws; and what multitudes among us would soon be restored to freedom if this law of the Hebrews were revived! Yet it is very evident from this law that servitude was far from being regarded as a desirable state, that freedom from it was a privilege, and that servants had it not in their power to free themselves when they pleased. To say that this law freed them both from the authority of the master and from their debt, whilst they might at any time free themselves from the authority of the master, is not fairly meeting the case, unless it were proved that all servants were debtors.

Servants were to be instructed in common with the rest of the household. God's testimony respecting Abraham was, that he would command not only his children but his household after him, and they should keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; and the spirit of Abraham's example pervades the laws given to his children. Servants were as entirely exempt from labor on the Sabbath as their masters;—"Thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant,—that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou," Deut. v. 14. The same law was given in respect to sacred feasts, Deut, xvi. 11. Some have considered that servants were exempt from labor nearly one-half of their time. This estimate is undoubtedly extravagant. To arrive at this conclusion, the Sabbatical year and the year of jubilee are supposed to have been years of absolute idleness, which they were not. The land was to rest, but the people might attend to various avocations not connected with the cultivation of their fields. The whole time of the different feasts is also included; whereas it was only during one or two

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days of the most solemn of these that the people were to have a holy convocation, and to do no servile work. So that, instead of nine weeks, as some have supposed, it is doubtful whether even so many as nine days would be lost to labor in this way. Yet this much must be admitted, that the servants were in this respect placed upon the same footing with their masters, and were not required to work when the masters were required to rest. It would seem neither advantageous to masters nor servants, nor creditable to the law of God, to suppose that the Israelites were all required to spend about half their time in idleness, instead of laboring six days out of the seven, with those few exceptions which the observing of divine ordinances must always require. Servants were to partake with their masters in the tithes of the corn, the wine, the oil, and the firstlings of the flock, Deut. xii. 17, 18. They were equally bound to partake of the seals of the covenant, circumcision, and the passover. In a word, as to all religious duties, rights and privileges the law made no distinction between them and their masters.

It is thought by some that the master was bound either to marry his maid-servant, to give her in marriage to his son, or provide some other for a husband. There is, however, no such law given, and the incidental hint of such a custom supposed to be given in Exodus xxi. 8, is founded on a different reading of the text. The Keri or margin has Li, *to himself*, the Ketib has Lo, *not*. Our translators here, as is usual, read according to the Keri, "If she please not her master who hath betrothed her *to himself*." A few prefer the Ketib, "If she please not her master who hath *not* betrothed her." The opinion of some Jewish critics in favor of this latter reading, and their assertion that the master was obliged to marry his maid-servant, or give her to his son, are of little weight, as they are wont to feign customs to explain texts which they do not understand. If such had been the law, it is unaccountable that there should be no mention of it. The purchaser might have wives enough already and no sons. In this case it would be rather hard that he could not have a maid-servant without adding

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her to the number of his wives. Besides, this law would be in direct opposition to the law that Hebrew bond-maids should go out in the seventh year. If the bond-maid were necessarily the wife of her master or his son this would be a most iniquitous disregard to the marriage relation. In respect to the master being obliged to provide a husband not belonging to his own family, this is still more improbable, seeing he had not the control of the will of others, and could not be obliged to do what it depended on the will of others whether it should be done or not.

In ordinary cases, the Hebrew bond-servant continued with his master six years, and this without any respect to the Shemitta or Sabbatical year, which was not a year of release, but only of rest for the land. However, when the time of sale was within less than six years of the jubilee, the time of service was rendered somewhat shorter. The law was that at the commencement of this year liberty was to be proclaimed "throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," (Lev. xxv. 10, 39–41.) The question has been a good deal debated, whether this included any other than the Hebrew bond-servants. In the chapter where this law occurs, there is an obvious distinction between the Hebrew bond-servants, and those who might be bought of the heathen. The Hebrews were not to be reduced to perpetual servitude, but if not previously redeemed, were to regain their freedom in the year of jubilee. On the other hand, the heathen servants were held on different terms; of them it is said, "They shall be your possession; and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever." It is true the proclamation made in the year of jubilee appears to be in very general terms. It extends to "all the inhabitants of the land." But it must be well known to all familiar with the language of the Bible, that such general terms are often to be understood in a limited sense. The land of Israel was called the land and the habitation by eminence, and the Israelites were called the people, and the inhabitants. Those of other nations, even when residing in the land, were called strangers and sojourners. These terms

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are repeatedly applied to them in the chapter referred to, (see verses 6th, 35th, 45th, and 47th.) That the liberty proclaimed at the jubilee extended only to the Hebrews is evident from its being accompanied with a return to the possessions which were permanently invested in their families, and could not be finally alienated to the heathen. "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man to his family." How could this apply to the heathen servants who had no such possessions in the land? That Hebrew servants alone are intended in this text is the opinion of Dr. Gill, Le Clerk, and commentators generally, if not universally. Lightfoot says of the Libertines mentioned, Acts vi. 9, that the text must be understood as referring to servants that were of the Jewish nation, for it was a rule amongst them, "It is not lawful to make a Canaanite (or Gentile) servant free; and if any one doth make such a one free, he trangresseth the law, 'They shall be your bond-men for ever,' (Lev. xxv. 26.) But if any one do make him free, he is made free." Lightfoot adds, "There is a dispute about this matter in Sotah. R. Ishmael saith, 'There is only a license granted, if you have a mind, of keeping a Canaanite as bondsman for ever. But R, Akibah saith, It is a binding command that every one that hath a Canaanite servant is bound to keep him in his service and never to make him free."*

Gussetius, in his comment on the Hebrew word *olam*, observes that it denotes eternity, and also time of a shorter duration. On its application to the time of service in Israel he says, "If the servant had not declared his wish to serve his master forever, then he was to serve seven years, although the Sabbatical year should intervene; yet, if the year of jubilee should intervene before the end of the seventh [sixth] year, then his servitude was to cease, according to Lev. xxv. 40. And the following reason of this difference

* Lightfoot, vol. viii., p. 413.

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may be given: In the Sabbatical year his possessions did not return to him. On this account he might be left to want, and compelled again to return to bondage, so that he would be liberated not only to no purpose, but to his own damage upon the Sabbatical year. He was, however, most seasonably and properly liberated in the year of jubilee, and before it, also, if he were able to liberate himself, and had enough for his support till he returned to his farm when that year arrived. If the servant declared that he wished to remain in perpetual servitude, then," says Gussetius, "I do not think that he went out in the jubilee, and I judge that the force of the terms *ebed olam* [a servant for ever] will not allow this, because in the same chapter, verse 46, *leolam* [for ever] is opposed to the termination of the jubilee." In other words, Gussetius thinks that the Hebrew bond-servants served for seven years without any reference to the Sabbatical year, and only went out in the 50th, or year of jubilee, when the period of their service happened to be near that time; so that if the heathen bond-servants went out at the jubilee, there would be no distinction between these two classes, contrary to the plain import of the law to which reference has been made. Calvin, in his remarks upon this law, says, "What God here permitted towards foreigners was common among all nations, that the power of masters should continue over servants, not only till death, but in a constant succession over their children. For this is the force of the expression, 'Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you.' The right of dominion passes to the heirs. Nor is the difference alone in the perpetuity of the bondage, but also in the mode of exercising dominion; for the antithesis is to be observed, &c." Munster, Spanheim, Diodati, Henry and others might be quoted to the same purpose.

Another law respecting servants occurs in Deut. xxiii. 15, 16; "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant who is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou

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shalt not oppress him." It was not unusual among the heathen to allow of certain places such as temples and statues of the Roman Emperors to be sanctuaries for slaves. When they were cruelly treated by their masters they had the privilege of flying to these, and if it were proved on trial that they had been abused they might choose for themselves a more merciful master. It would seem from the law just cited, that the whole land of Israel was made an asylum for the oppressed of all other nations. The law, like others connected with it, is addressed to Israel in their collective capacity, and not to individuals. It is intended for strangers who fled to them, and who must be allowed to dwell in their gates, which implies that they had not dwelt in the gates of Israel before. If this law be interpreted as extending to such as were bond-servants in Israel, and who might escape to their next neighbors, whenever they thought proper, and claim their liberty, it will be found attended with great and insuperable difficulties. To what purpose were servants to be set free in the seventh year, at the jubilee, in consequence of abusive treatment, or by redemption, if they might at any time set themselves free by taking refuge in the family of a neighbor? If it be said that their escape might free them from bondage but not from their debt, we answer that they were not all debtors; and if they were, how was the creditor to recover the debt? Is it said, The servant must be sold again? If he were idle and worthles as soon as he was set to work, he might walk to his next neighbor and be free. Then he must be sold again; but again he prefers walking away to another neighbor, rather than remain in bondage; and he will hardly weary so soon of walking away from his work, as the creditor will weary of such useless sales. If this had been the law of Israel the servants of Shimei needed not to have fled to Gath; for any Hebrew neighbor would have been as safe a refuge; and Shimei needed not to have hazarded his life to recover his fugitives, for the thing was impossible. The Jewish Rabbins understand this law as relating to the heathen who fled to the Hebrews and embraced their religion. Onkelos has it *ebid ammin*, the servant of the Gentiles. And Jonathan

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says, "Thou shalt not deliver the stranger into the hands of the worshipers of idols, but he shall be free among you." Herodotus speaks of a temple of Hercules which remained in his time, to which if the servants of any man flying took sacred marks devoting himself to the god, it was then unlawful to touch him; which law, says he, continues as it was from the beginning even to the present time. So those who fled to Israel took the sacred mark of circumcision, and then were safe from such as might attempt to recover them. Calvin seems hardly satisfied with this law in its naked form, even when restricted to the servants who fled to Israel from the heathen nations. He thinks it would have occasioned a ruinous influx of all the filth of the surrounding nations. Thieves, adulterers, and murderers, he thinks would have left their masters, and fled to Israel as an asylum for all kinds of crimes. He observes that there is often more in a law, than the bare words would intimate, and that there is no reason to suppose such an asylum afforded to any without a judicial investigation of their case; and he thinks also that this is hinted by the liberty granted to dwell in any of the gates of Israel of which the servant might make choice.

These remarks have not been intended to embrace all the laws of Israel respecting servants, but chiefly such as show the leniency with which they were treated, and a few also which appear to have been frequently misunderstood. It might be useful to contrast with these the laws and usages of other ancient nations, and show the influence of the gospel in meliorating the condition of slaves, and finally rooting out the evil of slavery. These subjects, however, embrace a field quite too extensive to be included in the present article.

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Article IV.—The Ruling Elder.

In the article with this heading, in the January number of the Quarterly, we presented what seemed to be the scriptural view of the nature of the office of the Ruling Elder. The proposition there affirmed is "that the ruling power in the Church is a spiritual function, derived from Christ her Head, through courts constituted in his name." It is there shown that in its *nature, source, mode of investiture, and manner of exercise,* this power is the same whether held by the ministry in addition to preaching the word and dispensing the sacraments, or by those who are called and ordained merely to the eldership. The point aimed at was to sustain the office of ruling elder against attempts, of late quite common, and by those who claim to be Presbyterians, to make the elder a mere representative of the people.

We resume the subject to fulfill an implied promise in the close of that article, that we would present the teachings of history on this subject. We are aware, indeed, that no arguments drawn from this source, will avail against direct proof from the word of God. If, therefore, on the one hand, the practice of the church as presented in authentic history, should prove to be different from what we have shown the Scriptures require, our position is still safe; if on the other, it be made appear, that the church, in her purest times, had the function of ruling execised equally and the same in all respects by ministers and elders, the correctness of the views contended for will be rendered still more apparent.

It will not be questioned that the apostles understood fully the government of the church, employed, and endowed as they were with spiritual gifts, to bring it into actual exercise. From the explicitness of the directions on this sub-

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ject given by Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, it is pretty evident that he already detected the entrance of erroneous views in relation to ecclesiastical officers and their duties. And as John survived all the other apostles, and lived to see heresies of the most dangerous kind taught and received in the church, we might expect that he would not be less watchful in regard to anything that would tend to subvert her government.

Many of the evils pointed out and condemned in the Asiatic churches addressed in the 2d and 3d chapters of the Revelation, arose from relaxed discipline, and this no doubt was the fruit of mistaken views of the nature of ecclesiastical rule. Let church governors once conceive the idea that they are mere deputies of the people, and rule for them, and the purity of discipline is endangered, and will soon be gone. It is not, therefore without its significance that immediately after the transmission of the letters to the seven churches, containing commendation, counsel, warning and reproof, the apostle is made to see in vision, set forth by appropriate and instructive symbols the divinely established order of the New Testament church. The scriptural model from which there had already been a departure is there again exhibited so as to be seen and copied in all succeeding ages by those who claim for Christ the exclusive right to institute the government of the church which he has purchased with his blood.

Prophecy is prospective history. We do not hesitate, therefore, to introduce in an argument drawn from history, materials taken from the declarations of Him who knows the end from the beginning, in relation to the future. And in more than one respect the record written by the pen of inspiration before the events take place has the advantage of that written afterwards by the mere historian, in that it is infallibly true, and besides the doctrine and precepts contained in it have the sanction of divine authority,—a consideration of weight in the judgment of those who demand a divine warrant for whatever in the church claims a place among her institutions.

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The first vision of the future recorded in the Apocalypse is contained in the fourth chapter. It opens with an invitation to John in these words, "Come up hither and I will show thee things which must be hereafter," (verse 1.) Immediately there opens to his view a sight of overpowering grandeur and glory. "A throne was set in heaven and one sat on the throne," (verse 2d.) That this was God the Father revealed in the Mediator, we presume none will question. The emerald rainbow that surrounded the throne, exhibited him through the new covenant of which the bow in the cloud was the divinely appointed emblem. It is next stated that "round about the throne were four and twenty seats, and upon the seats four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold," (verse 4th.) We are under no obligation to explain this imagery beyond what bears on the point in hand. Here were elders sitting on "thrones."* Their title—"presbyters." *πρεσβυτεροι*, and their position—sitting on thrones, both show that they were persons in authority. As the term elder, in both the Old and New Testament was used as an official title of one who ruled in the church, we are warranted to assume that such is its import in this place. Their clothing of white and crowns on their heads were also insignia of their office. They sat round about the throne, the proper position for those who, as judges, under Christ, the only King of the church, decide according to his law and under his eye.

As the vision is unfolding, emblems of another agency in the church come to view. "In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne were four beasts, (living beings,) full of eyes before and behind," (verse 6.) That these were representatives of the ministry of the church, without waiting to prove, we assume as granted. We have to do now with their position, both in relation to the throne, and to the elders that surrounded it. They were in the midst of and

* The original word is *thronoi*, the singular of which is rendered "throne" in the immediately preceding part of the verse.

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round about the throne. The former position shows their nearness to Christ in the ministration of the word and sacraments, and this is in exact accordance with his own declaration accompanying his commission to his disciples, to preach and baptize, "Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," (Matt. xxviii. 20.) And the same declaration was renewed to Paul, for his encouragement, when exposed to danger in Corinth, "Be not afraid, but speak and hold not thy peace, for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee," (Acts viii. 9, 10.)

They were also "round about the throne." This presents them as identical in position with the elders. It is likely that to John's view they formed an inner ring or circle. They appeared at once to be in the throne and round about it. In the latter position they are presented as acting in common with the elders, sustaining the same relation with him who sat on the throne, (Matt. xviii. 20.) Now the obvious meaning of this is, that while ministers have an office peculiar to themselves, in which they, in a singular manner, identify with Christ, they have also in common with the elders, ruling power, the same in its nature, source, and exercise.

We are informed further, (verse 8,) that the ministers, (we drop the symbolical, and use the literal term,) "rest not day nor night saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and is, and is to come." Their great work is to exhibit and proclaim officially and audibly the glory of God. This is done when by the faithful exercise of the key of doctrine they declare the whole counsel of God, and make full proof of their ministry. Faithful preaching leads to faithful discipline. The elders in their place coöperate in the work and conduce to the same end, Their response to the ministry is "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power." And let it be noted, that in doing so, they cast their crowns before the throne in token of their homage to him who sits on it. They thus acknowledge that from him they have received their authority, of which the crown is an expressive emblem, (verses 10, 11.)

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In chapter v., 6–8, the ministers and elders are presented in their relation to their Head. A Lamb as it had been slain, stood in the midst of them. He took the seven-sealed book out of the Father's hand. This display of his mediatorial fitness to unfold the counsels of God awakes emotions of admiration and holy joy in the surrounding and deeply interested beholders. Both classes, ministers and elders at the *same* time prostrate themselves before him, present the *same* offerings, and celebrate his praise in the *same* song "And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having, every one of them, harps and golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of saints. And they sang a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book and open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." And we mark as especially pertinent to our purpose the conclusion of the song in the 10th verse: "And hast made us unto our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth." In this song of praise these persons honored with official power and position in the church unite in ascribing the authority which they possess in common, to the same source: "Thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests." And in response to the grand chorus of praise in which all join, (from the highest angel, to the invisible animalculæ) these favored occupants of thrones are again heard, (verse 14.) "And the four beasts said Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth forever and ever."

Thus far, from these emblems, we have seen what was to be the organization of the New Testament Church, by the will of her Head. She must have a living, intelligent, and energetic ministry, receiving their commission from Christ; and she must have a judicious and devoted eldership, deriving their office from the same source, and acting by the same authority. When she has these employed in their respective spheres, and coöperating in doing the work assigned them, she is instituted according to the will of her alone King and Law-giver.

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After a lapse of years the church, as thus organized, is again introduced to notice. The seventh chapter of the Revelation contains an account of the sealing of the servants of God. We assume that this refers to the times of Constantine after the subversion of Paganism in the Roman Empire. Multitudes of the redeemed are heard ascribing salvation to God, who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb, (verse 10.) Holy angels join in these ascriptions of praise, (verse 11.) And, it is to be noticed, that they are described by their position in relation to the ministry and the eldership. They "stood round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living beings." Might not this express the angelic guardianship of those who constituted the Council of Nice that met in 325, and decided the great question of the Divinity of the Son of God. That Council was composed of about three hundred bishops or ministers, and nearly as many laymen or elders. And the judicial decision of the great question on which depend the hopes of the redeemed for eternity, is made known by one of the elders to the apostle, in connection with the unspeakable advantages resulting from it, (vers. 13–17.) It is one of the elders that puts the suggestive question respecting the multitude arrayed in white robes, and waving the palms of victory, and that answers it. In other words, it was the church in her highest council, composed of ministers and elders, that settled, judicially, the great doctrine, that salvation is secured to all God's redeemed by the obedience to the death of the Divine Surety.

In chapter xi. 16, the elders are again, after a long interval, brought to view. And, it is worthy of notice, that on this occasion they are unaccompanied by the ministry. It is after the seventh—the last woe—trumpet is sounded that they occupy a place in the prophetic history of the church. This fact is important, as it tends to account for the absence of the ministry, and to show the importance for the church's existence in trying times to have a faithful eldership. The seventh trumpet sounds contemporaneously with the resurrection of the two witnesses. By these being put to death, and lying unburied, is evidently meant the suppression of a

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public testimony for the truth uttered by a faithful and zealous ministry. By seductive influences in part, and also by the exercise of tyrannical power, they will be silenced. But the church shall still exist—she will have her elders. The power which they have, in common with the ministry, preserves her a living organization, when by force and cruelty the mouths of her ministers are closed. And these rulers watch closely the movements of Providence. They have discernment to see that a great work is about to be accomplished, and they listen with eagerness to the announcement that it is done. Voices in heaven succeed the sound of the seventh angel's trumpet, with the cheerful and exultant exclamation!—"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever." And then the church, by her living and faithful eldership, will respond to the heavenly acclaim in words befitting those who have the deepest personal interest in the great era now inaugurated. "And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshiped God; saying, we give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, who art and wast, and art to come, because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned," (vers. 16, 17.) Surely these are not mere creatures of the people deriving their authority from them, or through them, but divinely appointed officers, acting in the name of their Head, and supported and directed by him.

The vision in the fourteenth chapter of the Revelation carries us back to the times that preceded the Reformation. Though the church, generally, had sunk into the depths of apostacy, yet Christ had still his hidden and sealed ones, who stood with him in a church state, and who were distinguished as his peculiar people, by having his Father's name written on their foreheads. All this time the church had an organic existence, small and concealed though she was, remote from public view in the vallies of Piedmont. Thence she uttered her testimony against the great apostacy; and thence, too, she lifted up her voice to heaven in songs

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of praise that none else could hear or sing. We are informed, (ver. 3,) that those "who were redeemed from the earth" sung a new song before the throne, and before the four living beings, and the elders. The Waldensian church had her ministry and her eldership, and thus organized they were owned of God, and they owned and acknowledged him before men. Her ministers and elders were in the possession of the spiritual power of rule received from her Head. They were round about the throne.

We find these two official characters referred to once more in the Revelation. The nineteenth chapter, beyond all dispute, introduces the millenium. On account of the overthrow of mystical Babylon, and the just vengeance inflicted on her, ascriptions of praise ascend to God. In verse 5, the ministry and the eldership unite in humble and adoring worship. "And the four and twenty elders and the four living beings, fell down and worshiped God that sat on the throne, saying Amen, Alleluia." What else will this be but the church in her judicature, composed of ministers and elders, recognizing the hand of God in the terrible judgments by which papal Rome with all its supporters shall be destroyed, giving her earnest approval of the great work, and calling on all to praise God. The four and twenty elders, and the four living beings, said "Amen. Alleluia. So be it. Praise ye Jehovah." And the order in which this is done is not without meaning. The ruling power first, and then the teaching. The church in her judicatories, and then by her ministry in the preaching of the word, ascribing to God the glory of her great deliverance.

We have been the more lengthy in the argument drawn from the history of the church as prospectively laid down in prophecy, partly because we have seen scarcely any use made of it in support of the claims of the eldership; and partly because in our view it is satisfactory and conclusive. It is in the form of an argument, *a priori*. From unquestionable data we draw our inferences of what should be the organization of the church, the officers by which her internal affairs are managed, and the duties and functions of

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her respective officers. And we are greatly mistaken if, from what has been written, it does not appear, that it is the will of the Head of the Church, that she should have a ministry and an eldership—both joining in ruling by virtue of authority of the same kind, and derived from the same origin, and that her ministry besides should have and exercise the additional functions of preaching the gospel and dispensing the sacraments. We will now adduce from authentic history the proof that this was actually the case.

We can do little more than give quotations from histories of the church that are conceded to be authentic. The first is from Neander, vol. 1, p. 187, Boston Edition.

"It is clear of itself, however, that this faculty of teaching is a thing quite distinct from the talent for administering the outward concerns of the community—the gift of government which was particularly required for the office of assessor in the church council—the office of presbyter or bishop. These gifts so different in their kind, could not always be united in the same individual. In the early apostolic church, to which all arbitrary and idle distinctions of ranks were so alien, and where every office was considered simply with reference to the end it was to subserve, and circumscribed by an inner necessity, the function of teaching and that of church government, the function of a doctor and that of a shepherd, as also the gifts requisite for both, (the gift of teaching and the gift of government) were hence also originally distinguished and held separate from each other."

In a note to the end of this paragraph, the historian says:

"Compare for instance Rom. xii. 7, 8, and the passages already noticed, for the purpose of seeing the distinction between the one who teaches and the one who rules."

Origen, who lived near the beginning of the third century, says:

"They who have been but lately introduced, and have not received the symbol of purification, (baptism), are assigned to a different place from the rest, who have already given full proof of their sincere resolution to addict themselves wholly to the Christian doctrine and way of life. Some of these latter are *ordained to inquire into the lives and*

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conversation of those who present themselves to be admitted, in order to prohibit profane and vile persons from coming into this assembly."

Hear Ambrose of the fourth century:

"As among all nations age is honorable, so both the synagogue and afterwards the church had elders without whose counsel nothing was done in the church, which by what negligence this became violate I know not, unless, perhaps, through the idleness, or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone wished to appear something." *

Mosheim informs us that the "Waldensian Church was governed in the 12th century by *bishops,* and *presbyters,* and *deacons.*" We have already expressed the opinion that it is to their scriptural and primitive mode of worship that there is a reference in the 14th chapter of Revelation. When the church elsewhere was prostrated under the feet of ecclesiastical tyranny, it was matter of joy in heaven that there were some who had not defiled themselves with the spiritual adultery of those who by rejecting Christ's institutions, and substituting those that were human in their place, received into the church's embrace another than her Head and Husband.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century effected a salutary change, not less in the government of the church, than in doctrine and worship. It was the aim of the Reformers to conform her government to the scriptural mode, from which, under priestly domination, it had far departed. This was begun at Geneva by Calvin, and was thence transferred to Scotland, where by Knox, Melville, and others it was exhibited in a perfected form in the first and second Books of Discipline. And as Presbyterians, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, claim to conform, in the government of the church, to the standard of the Scottish church in the times of reformation, it is of some importance to the point in hand, to ascertain what that standard was in relation to

* This and the preceding extract is copied from the "P resbytery.' We have no doubt of their accuracy.

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the office and duties of ruling elders. This we will present in a few quotations from the books named above, and also from the Form of Church Government.

"Men of the best knowledge, judgment, and conversation, should be chosen for elders. Their office is to assist the minister in the execution of discipline, in all great and weighty matters. The elders shall watch upon all men's manners, religion and conversation, that are within their charge, correct all licentious livers, or else accuse them before the session."—*Sum of First Book of Discipline, chapter 7.*

"The word 'elder' in the scriptures is sometimes the name of age, sometimes of office. When it is the name of office it is sometimes taken largely, comprehending as well the pastors and doctors as those who are called seniors and elders. In this our division we call those elders whom the apostles call presidents or governors. Their office as it is ordinary, so it is perpetual and always necessary in the kirk of God. The eldership is a spiritual function, as is the ministry.

"It is not necessary that all elders be teachers of the word, albeit, the chief ought to be such, and so are worthy of double honor. Their office is as well severally as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners enter them."—*Second Book of Discipline, chap.* 6.

"Christ, who hath instituted a government and governors ecclesiastical in the church, hath furnished some in his church, besides the ministers of the word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the ministers in the government of the church, which officers reformed churches commonly call elders."—*Form of Church Government.*

With such an array of proof, of which we have given no more than a few samples, as to the position of the church in relation to the office and duties of the ruling elder, it is strange that there is now found any claiming the Presbyterian name who would brand as an innovation the introduction of that officer into the church in the exercise of a power purely spiritual, and flowing directly from Christ. It is

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the attempt to degrade the office as a power delegated by the people, that is an innovation. And this movement, in so far as successful, is injurious to the church. The tendency is to her secularization. Rulers who acknowledge no higher source of power than the people, will be very likely to consult the wishes of their constituents, and be satisfied that they have done right when they receive their approval. How unworthy a motive is this to do Christ's work, and how false the standard by which to know when it is done? The church must not let either ignorance or treachery deprive her of one of the arms of her strength with which her Head has endowed her to fulfill the mission on which he has sent her. With her ministers and her elders in their respective places, and each doing his appropriate work, she will approve herself to him and evince, to the glory of her name, his wisdom and goodness in instituting and endowing her with fitness for the great mission that he designed she should accomplish.

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Artice V.—Early Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the General Atsembly of 1560.

It is association, the recollections suggested and the thoughts stirred up, that invests persons and places with interest, more than anything now peculiar to themselves. London, Paris, and New York are, in our day, the great cities of the world—great in population, in wealth, in talent, refinement, enterprise, happiness and misery, virtue and vice. The great arteries leading out from them convey animation and strength to the remotest extremities. But the mention of their names stirs up no such feelings, and awakens no such thrilling emotions, as when Athens, Rome, Carthage, the cities of the Nile, and Jerusalem, are named. These are in ruins; their visible glory has departed. Yet the school-boy wearies not of their story; the scholar delights to explore their history; and pilgrims from every land come to look upon their ashes. And multitudes listen with eyes and ears intent, as the returned traveler recites his wanderings—what his eyes have seen—what his heart has felt—and what his mind has thought, as he loitered among buried cities, broken arches, prostrate columns, and wide desolations.

Scotland is a small country, a mere speck on the earth. The climate is not hospitable. Mellow beauties of sky and balmy breezes are not given her. Yet what remembrances of endurance, of bravery, of learning, and of piety, does the word Scotland call up? And as we have something of honest pride in tracing the race to which we belong, and of which we boast so much, back to its Anglo-Saxon origin,—though somewhat rude and cruel,—should we not take unfeigned pleasure in tracing the history of

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that church to which we belong—which we love so much—to which the world is so greatly indebted, and which is capable of such great things in the future, *through Scotland*, when 300 years ago it stood forth boldly,—strong only in the Lord and in the power of his might,—in opposition to popery, prelacy, and worldliness, and in favor of an open Bible for all the people, of the public preaching of the Gospel from an unfettered pulpit, of the dispensation of the sacraments in the scriptural form and meaning, of sound doctrine, of a godly life, of the care of the poor, of the education of all, and of freedom from political tyranny.

The limits of a single article will permit only the notice of a few leading incidents and principal personages that exerted a controling influence, and the great principles advocated and established. That we may have a correct understanding of the General Assembly that met at Edinburg, on the 20th of December, 1560, and of the nature of the great work it accomplished, we must take a glance at the ecclesiastical state of Scotland previous to the Reformation, and at the long train of events leading to this consummation.

For none must suppose that the Gospel was only introduced to that country some three or four centuries ago, or that Presbyterianism there can date no further back than 300 years. The Gospel found its way thither at an early day, and Presbyterianism was soon developed. And never afterwards was the Gospel altogether silenced, or the spirit of Presbyterianism entirely crushed. Notwithstanding fire and sword, defection and poverty, the remains of both still clung to the bleak hills, took refuge in the deep dells, or nestled in the schools. To take away the Gospel altogether from a people upon whom it has once taken a firm hold is not easy; and to utterly quench Presbyterianism where the fire has been once kindled, is a most difficult thing. To the taunting question sometimes put by Romanists and their natural allies, High-Churchmen, "Where was your church before Luther?" we can reply by pointing to Scotland, as also to the Waldenses hidden among the Alps. In both

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places the ancient faith of the church was still preserved by a remnant. Of this there is indubitable evidence.

The rage of men against God defeats itself. In the persecution that arose after the death of Stephen the intention was to root out the Gospel and destroy the church forever. But this built up the church, by sending the Gospel immediately—much sooner than it would have otherwise gone—throughout all Judea, and to almost all parts of the world then accessible to commerce or military adventure; to Syria, Parthia, Arabia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Gaul. It is not precisely known how soon the people of Scotland received the message of salvation, but it must have been at a very early day, probably in the latter part of the first century. Imperial Rome was never able to conquer this country by force of arms; but Tertullian says, that "those parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans had become subject to Christ." And there is incontrovertible evidence that in the second and third centuries Christianity had made considerable progress, which it maintained throughout the fourth and fifth centuries. In the next century we find it strongly entrenched at Iona—hallowed spot. This was the great seat of secular learning and theological training, in Scotland, for ages. Here were all the essential features of Presbyterianism in full activity. The doctrines of the entire sufficiency of the atonement of Christ, and of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, were most clearly taught. The Scriptures were the only rule of faith and practice; there was purity in the ministry; ruling elders were found in all the churches; and church courts were held. From this place the Gospel "sounded out" over Caledonia, to England and to Ireland. Missionaries were sent to the Pagan Saxons. And Oswald, King of the Northumbrian Saxons, who himself had been educated at Iona, afterwards sent to the elders there asking for an ordained minister, by whom his subjects might be instructed in the Christian faith. St. Patrick, Ireland's patron saint, of whom so many fabulous legends have been reported by monks who claim that he was one of themselves, had no connection whatever with Rome. Wherever the place of his birth may have been, and however

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devious the path by which he may have been led, it is certain that he came to Ireland as a minister of the Gospel from Iona, and acted under the direction of the churches of Scotland, and of no others. Wonderful success attended his ministry. He founded 365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops, (pastors,) and 3,000 ruling elders. Hetherington well remarks, "What kind of bishops these were, is sufficiently apparent from the fact that there was one for each church, and also from the number of elders—about eight to each bishop." Iona was a small islet on the outer shore of Mull, one of the larger of the Hebrides or Western Islands. The religious institutions to which this little spot owes its celebrity were founded by Columba, said to have been a native of Ireland, and of royal extraction. He had with him twelve companions, over whom he exercised no other kind of authority than that of being president for life. They do not seem to have known either the office or the designation of bishop, in its prelatical sense. The institution at Iona was, to all intents and purposes, a regular presbytery such as is known among ourselves, with this exception, that the Moderator held his office for life, and not temporarily, as at present. But he was nothing more than "the first among his equals." So different was his office from anything recognized by Popery or diocesan and prelatic Episcopacy, that the "venerable Bede" styles him—"Presbyter-Abbott," and speaks of the ecclesiastical order there as being so different from what he himself was accustomed to, that he calls it "an unusual constitution," (*ordo insusitatus.*) It must be borne in mind that Bede was familiar, in his day, only with Popery and Episcopacy. But it is time for us to turn to the people who rendered Iona famous and made for themselves an immortal name.

The name *Culdee* is fragrant with the odor of piety and devoted self-denial. Different explanations had been given of the origin of the term. Some derive it from the two Latin words, *Cultores Dei*, worshipers of God; others from the Gælic words *Gille De*, servants of God; and others from the Gælic *Cuil* or *Ceal*, a sheltered place, or retreat. However, the strong probability is that the name is a combina-

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tion of the latter two opinions. This would make the name *Culdee* to signify that the people to whom it was given were refugees, and dwelt generally in protected or sheltered places They were refugees because they fled from persecution; and they sought hiding places that they might be free from pursuit. Iona was their stronghold. From this place went forth their most learned men, and their most courageous missionaries. It was the heart of the true religion, not only for Scotland, but also for England and Ireland. And as piercing the heart will destroy at once the life of the entire body, so to destroy Iona, would be to destroy, in a great measure, by a single blow, the pure Gospel in those countries. This was well understood by Rome when she had forsaken the true faith, introduced her abominations, and begun her striving by force and fraud for supremacy. Rome was thoroughly convinced that if the Saxons of England, the Celts of Ireland, and the Scots and Picts of Scotland, were to be made subject to her, she must gain possession of Iona and subdue the Culdees, by argument or artifice, by diplomacy or the sword, or by all these combined. Accordingly, Pope Gregory the Great sent the Monk Augustine, (not the celebrated Latin father of the same name,) with forty missionary attendants to England; when at a Synod, held in 603, they immediately commenced their attack, by setting forth how Rome differed from the Culdees with respect to the celebration of Easter. And at a Synod held at Whitby, in 662, the Romish party triumphed. Most of the Culdees that remained firm in their ancient faith returned to Scotland and clustered around their beloved Iona.

But now the assault is to be made in Scotland itself. The want of a prelacy among the Culdees was the great cause of Romish animosity against them. In the eyes of Rome the want of a prelacy was a greater crime than all the Culdee opposition to her rites and ceremonies. And the introduction of prelacy was the direct means by which the pure and scriptural worship of the early Scottish church was overthrown. In doing this Rome had much assistance from the residence, for a time, in England, of some of Scotland's most powerful kings. These returned home having their

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minds filled with prejudices in behalf of the pomp and splendor of Romish prelacy as they had seen it in England, and made the most strenuous efforts to erect buildings and organize and endow a hierarchy that would equal that of England in magnificence.

What a sad history is that of the decline and fall of the old Culdee Church! In 716 the family of Iona was expelled beyond Drum-Albin by Nectan, king of the Picts, that he might introduce Popery as it then existed in England. After a time they were restored. But when the Danes began their piratical invasions of the Western Isles in 801, Iona was burned to the ground and many of the Culdees were slain. In 877 they fled to Ireland, from another Danish invasion. In 905 the Danes again pillaged Iona, along with the neighboring islands. In this affair many of the ministers were put to death. And in 1059 their buildings were entirely destroyed by fire. But still the pious Culdees lingered around the ruins of their temples, until 1203, when Ceallach took possession and erected a Romish monastery! Thus the very citadel was taken. The remnants of the persecuted flock were entirely driven from Iona, and Rome was victorious,—yet it must not be forgotten that many other establishments similar to that in Iona were found in different parts of Scotland. One after another of these fell into the hands of Romish ecclesiastics; but the Culdees of St. Andrews did not yield until 1297. That the Protestant character of the Culdees may be clearly seen, it is only necessary to mention a few of the many particulars in which they differed from Rome. They rejected *auricular confession*, and its consequents *penance and absolution*, they rejected the doctrines of *transubstantiation*, of the *worship of angels and relics*, the *invocation of saints*, *prayers for the dead*, and *works of supererogation*. And that they were essentially Presbyterian in government and discipline has been already shown. But though the Culdees were dispersed, and their churches destroyed or in the hands of others, many of them still lived scattered through the western counties of Scotland. Though their name had become almost extinct, their tenets were in a great measure

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preserved pure, till the time of the Lollards and the followers of Jerome, Huss, and Wickliffe, when a few scattered streaks of the day-break of the Reformation began to appear.

Great and blessed was the work of Wickliffe in giving the Bible to the people in their own language. Truly its leaves were for the healing of the nations. It is not strange that Rome hated him so intensely as to order his bones that had lain quietly in the grave for thirty years, to be taken out and burned. For Wickliffe's Bibles were the beginning of Rome's downfall. His ashes were cast into a little river that passes near the church of Luttenworth; and as quaint Thomas Fuller remarks, "This river took them into the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblems of his doctrine, which is dispersed all over the world."

The year 1525 marks the beginning of the Scottish Reformation, of the revival of the ancient Culdee faith. The writings of Luther had found their way to Aberdeen, and were exciting discussions among the educated. concerning the errors and abuses of Rome. An Act of Parliament was obtained against their further introduction; and a warrant was secured from the boy King, James V. to seize, confiscate, and appropriate to the King's use the goods of all persons found engaged in the work of bringing these publications to the country. But this only caused the roots of the truths to strike deeper in that renowned University. For here as in Germany, the revival of learning was the precursor of the Reformation. At this time pride and arrogance ruled among the high ecclesiastics of the church. The people were oppressed with burdensome exactions. Religious ordinances were degraded by unmeaning mummeries. The souls of the people were uncared for, and every effort was made for the continuance of the ignorance of the laity. The government of the country was practically in the hands of the Cardinal and his priesthood, and cruelty, treachery and vice abounded.

But the interest in the Reformation then taking place in

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Germany and Switzerland, was not confined to Aberdeen. The sea-port towns, Montrose, Dundee, St. Andrews, and Leith, were infected with it. Merchants and traders making their annual voyages to the ports of Flanders, the Netherlands, and Germany, met Lutheran books and ideas everywhere, and imported many of them along with their usual cargoes of goods. But more than this, William Tyndale, who had declared that he would multiply copies of the New Testament until every plough-boy should have one, had his markets for his English Testaments at Antwerp, in Middleburg, and in Hamburg. These were bought up in great quantities by English traders and brought to England and Scotland, where a ready and profitable sale was found. The wide-spread military organization of the Roman Empire and the general prevalence of trade, did much to assist the promulgation of Christianity at the beginning of the Christian Era; and at the Reformation commerce did much to spread abroad the old truths that had been again brought to light. In later days the East India Company unwittingly opened the way for the entrance of the Gospel to India, China, Africa, and the isles of the sea. In this way Luther and Tyndale were at the very gates of St. Andrews, the seat of the Primacy, the ecclesiastical and literary capital of the kingdom, where Cardinal James Beaton reigned. As in the beginning of the Christian Church, the Gospel attacked first the places where the enemy was most strongly fortified, as Jerusalem, Corinth, Rome, and Athens, so now the great enemy of the truth in Scotland was assailed in his strongest fortress; for it is to be kept in mind that the circulation of the writings of Luther was still illegal, nevertheless great numbers of them were sold and read.

Now the axe is laid at the root of the tree, and must be wielded by strong arms, impelled by large and brave hearts warmed with love to God. To bring before the mind of our readers, in this brief and hurried sketch, all the actors who appeared on the stage and performed so well their parts in this great drama, is manifestly impossible. Nor will it be possible to consider in detail the many and artful schemes

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invented to retard and destroy the rising Reformation, the cruelties and butcheries that were practised, the selfish aims of worldly politicians, or the intrigues of the Court of France against Protestantism in both England and Scotland. From this time until the complete reörganization of the Church, on the 20th of December 1560, the Reformation in Scotland, was shaped and directed principally by these men, in succession, each performing a different part, and each part necessary to the success of the whole.

The voice of the living teacher was required. Luther's tracts and Tyndale's Testaments had done much. But the evangelical preacher, the godly confessor, and the heroic martyr for Christ's Gospel, must speak to the people before the heart of the nation can be thoroughly stirred up. This is God's plan, "After that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." Schools and the press are powerful, but they can never be substituted for the living preacher. It was the public preaching of the apostles, of Luther and Calvin, of John Knox and the Puritans, that was so much dreaded by their enemies. Nothing does Popery now dread so much as the apprehension that the public preaching of the Gospel may be established throughout Italy, as it has been at Naples. Popery hates the Bible and would gladly keep it out, yet with the Bible alone the breaking forth of the fire may be restrained. But with the Bible in the heart, and the preacher blowing upon it with the warm breath of life, nothing can restrain the outbursting of the flame. And nothing does infidelity desire so much as the overthrow of the pulpit in Protestant lands; hence the pulpit is the target for its most envenomed darts. Wo unto that people when it shall be successful.

A preacher was found in the person of Patrick Hamilton, a man of noble birth, spotless character, exalted talents, and high expectations. While a student at Paris he met with some of the disciples of Erasmus and Luther, with whom he formed a close and enduring friendship, and to whom he was partly indebted for a correct knowledge of the Gospel.

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And when he left that city he was considered, by those who knew him, an Erasmian not only in his love for learning, but also in his conviction that a great reform was surely needed in the Church. While Erasmus hated the corruptions of Popery, he always clung to the idea of Reformation within the pale of the Romish Church. He never was bold enough to leap over its enclosures. Hamilton was ordained priest in 1526. Soon the report reached Cardinal Beaton that he was preaching nothing more nor less than the doctrines of Luther. The primate was filled with alarm. Such a preacher, with such gifts, supported by such family connections, was more to be dreaded in Scotland than Luther himself. Hamilton seeing the storm that was about to burst on him, acceded to the advice of his friends and retired to Germany. At both Wittemberg and Marburg his talents and his blameless and holy life, won the admiration of all. At the expiration of six months he returned home and began immediately to preach with great power and success, to his own relations and their dependants at Linlithgow; and soon afterwards he preached to large assemblages all over the country round about. The attention of all classes was awakened. The indignation against Rome was increased by his exposure of her corruptions. But the great burden of his preaching was "*faith in Christ as the only living root of hope and charity.*" By making the root good he sought to make both the tree and the fruit good. So that the main effect of his preaching was to make men anxious for their souls, and to lead them to accept Christ as their only Saviour. But notwithstanding his high rank and blameless life, his days were numbered. He was suddenly apprehended and thrown into the Castle of St. Andrews, where he was brought before a tribunal of prelates, abbots, priors and doctors. Noble was the protestation he made against the errors of Rome, and glorious was his confession of the Gospel of Christ. His condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The predetermined sentence was passed; and on that very day he must suffer. As his family was powerful, and since he was the darling of that family, his enemies feared a release, if the least delay should be allowed.

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Two hours after the sentence had been pronounced, his executioners were preparing the stake at which he was to be burned. When he arrived at the place of execution he uncovered his head, and lifting his eyes to heaven, prayed to God for a martyr's strength and a martyr's victory. His last words were—"How long, Lord, shall darkness overshadow this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyrrany of men? Lord Jesus receive my spirit." Thus died, on the 15th of Febuary, 1528, Patrick Hamilton, a noble martyr in a holy cause. But the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church: such a death had more awakening power than the labors of an entire life. It was for Hamilton to proclaim to the people the great doctrine of *salvation through faith in the sacrifice of Christ.* This was the first step in the progress of the Scottish Reformation.

Since Hamilton had appealed to the Bible for confirmation of what he taught, the enemies of the truth thought it best to deprive the people of the word of God as far as possible, lest the obnoxious doctrines might continue to spread. Accordingly the sale and reading of the Scriptures was authoritatively prohibited. But this was one step too far. The people would not put away their Bibles, and the merchants could not refuse to supply their customers. This was followed by persecutions, flights, imprisonments, and martyrdoms, until the nobles and men of wealth became alarmed at the arrogance of Cardinal Beaton and his priests, at the opulence they were acquiring, and at the political power to which they had attained. Consequently they began to combine for their own protection, as well as for the defence of the rights of the people in general. In this way many afforded very substantial aid to the Reformation, while at the same time they had no love for its saving truths in their own hearts; as Henry VIII. renounced the authority of the Pope of Rome, and made himself head of the Protestant Church of England, not from any genuine love to the Gospel, but to accomplish a purpose of his own. At length King James V. dies; the first Reforming Parliament assembles, and permission is given the people to read the word of God for themselves. Long, stoutly, and bitterly did the

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Romish clergy oppose this privilege, but they were at length compelled to yield to the pressure. Here a great point was gained. The blood of Hamilton, and others, struggles, confiscations, and imprisonments had not been in vain.

But the conflict is by no means ended: the thickest of the fight is yet to come. Patrick Hamilton had declared the great cardinal doctrine of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; and now the people have the Bible. But the truth that Hamilton preached is yet to be set forth fully in all its relations and applications in a systematic form. This is a great work requiring great abilities, and accompanied with appalling dangers. But one of high birth and wonderful attainments, for his day, is found to stand in the breach. This was George Wishart. Of him John Knox, who flattered men as little as he feared them, said, "He was a man of such graces as before him were never heard within this realm, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithstanding the great light of God that since his days has shined unto us; a man singularly learned, as well in godly knowledge as in all honest human science." In 1540 he visited the reformed churches of Switzerland, by this time far advanced in Christian knowledge and life. There he sat at the feet of Bullinger, the successor of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, and made the Helvetic Catechism a subject of careful study. The effect of this visit was to give him the theological views of Zwingle, which were identical, for the most part, with those held by Calvin, as distinguished from the German or Lutheran system. And this too was the turning point in the Protestant theology in the Church of Scotland. From this time onward it is Calvinistic rather than Lutheran. Wishart returned to Scotland at a portentous time; the cause of Protestantism seemed lost. The Regent, at first favorable to the Reformation, vacillated, and at last went over altogether to Rome, subjecting himself entirely to Cardinal Beaton, and violating his league and covenant with England. The folly of trusting in princes was again apparent. Men stood amazed. A dark cloud seemed to rest on the temple of God. The boldest began to be filled

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with painful apprehensions. But just then the clarion voice of Wishart was heard in Montrose, one of the places where Greek learning had made some progress. Here Wishart was well known, and the words that fell from his lips were graciously received. His voice was the sound of the trumpet reviving the "forlorn hope" of the host. From Montrose he went to Dundee, where he preached and lectured on the Epistle to the Romans, chapter by chapter, as Zwingle had done in Switzerland, and as he had seen Bullinger, his successor, do. This is the first example of the expository lecture in Scotland, and which has continued in such high favor among the people to this day. In Ayreshire crowds follow him from place to place. He was the first field preacher in Scotland in the Reformation, and the ablest pulpit orator that country had seen for centuries. Wherever he went, powerful and lasting effects were produced; the Word spoken by him was in administration of the Spirit and of power. Had it not been for the divine power accompanying the truth to an unusual degree, it would have been impossible for the Reformation to have succeeded at this time. For nowhere else was the Romish Church so powerful and rich in proportion to the power and wealth of the entire country, as in Scotland.

Wishart was alive to the sufferings of humanity. When in the west of Scotland he learned that the plague had broken out at Dundee, he hastened thither to carry the consolations of the Gospel, and minister to the suffering by relieving the wants of their bodies; as in apostolic times, he who ministered grace to the heart, did not forget the body. After preaching a sermon, his assassination was attempted by a hireling priest; and it required all his strength and authority to keep the people from tearing the defeated and affrighted servant of the papacy to pieces. But his work was done. The blood-hounds so long on his track had nearly overtaken him; they were raging with thirst for his blood. He was taken by stealth on the night of the 16th of January, 1546, and contrary to the solemn pleas of the noblemen who had seized him, he was carried before the infamous Bea-

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ton; charges were laid, his trial was a mere form, and sentence was given against him. On the following day he was burned at the stake. Thus sadly ended the life and ministry of George Wishart, one of the holiest of men, and one of the truest evangelists of Christ that Scotland has ever given to the world, though her gifts in this way have been many and great. It was he that first molded the reform of Scotland, upon the principles that gave a distinction to the reform Zwingle began in Zurich and Calvin perfected in Geneva. As Zwingle *preached the doctrine of faith in Christ,* so Wishart *gave it form and set forth the true doctrine of the sacraments.*

We have now reached the second stage in the progress of the Reformation. The next will be its outward form and consistency, the structure in which these doctrines are to work. This culminating point will be reached in the General Assembly of 1560.

Wishart left behind him one to take his place, one upon whom his mantle fell, and who had followed him and attended him. He left behind him a pupil to take up the sword that had dropped from his hand, and wield it with a vigor and power superior to that of the master—one of the boldest hearts, one of the clearest thinkers, and one of the most earnest souls that has ever been lent to the church mililant. This was no other than John Knox. After the death of Beaton, when St. Andrews was besieged by the Regent and his forces, on the 10th of April, 1547, the gates were open to receive him, that he might teach the youth, and at the same time preach the everlasting Gospel. In a short time he was called by the united voice of the people to be pastor of the church of St Andrews. His preaching was of great fulness and power. The enemies of the truth were silenced, and those who received it were melted to penitence. In controversy, no defender of Popery was able to stand before him; and so greatly did God bless his labors that all the castle and many of the people in the town openly professed faith in Christ, and partook of the Lord's Supper. But through the assistance of the French fleet, the castle

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was at length taken and all within it were transported to France, Knox along with the rest. For twenty months he was a captive on board the French galley. The next five years were spent in preaching the Gospel and promoting the Reformation in England. After the death of Edward, he repaired to Geneva, where he enjoyed the society and instruction of Calvin. Subsequently, through the advice of Calvin, he was pastor of a congregation of English refugees at Frankfort. After this he made another visit to Geneva. And thus was completed for the Church of Scotland, and for the Presbyterian Church of all future ages with regard to doctrine, government and discipline, in Knox at Geneva, what had been begun in Wishart at Zurich. At the end of 1555, Knox returned to Scotland at a most favorable season. It was a time of great spiritual awakening; men were repenting of their sins and crying for mercy. For in Scotland as well as in Germany and Geneva, the Reformation was not merely a throwing off of the yoke of Popery; but there was a new spiritual activity—a remarkable outpouring of God's spirit. The day was rapidly approaching when decisive measures must be taken. After another temporary absence from the country, Knox took charge of the Tolbooth church, Edinburg, where for thirteen years he labored in the Gospel as few men did.

And now the seed so long sown in divers places by men of faith and prayer, began to take root. The materials so long in preparation for the house of the Lord, were beginning to be brought together. That which formerly existed in principle merely, now took to itself form. That which had hitherto lived only by sufferance was about ready to demand its rights and assert its privileges. Just as certainly as the acorn in which the germ of the tree is found, will at length grow up, rear its head, and stretch out its branches to the sun, the air, and the rain, so certainly will the immortal principles of divine life conveyed to the hearts of believers develop themselves, Sooner or later, into a church and its ordinances, upon which the life-giving rays of the Sun of Righteousness may fall, and the precious dews of heaven descend.

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And the progressive character of the outward organization of the Presbyterian Church, at its resuscitation in Scotland is worthy of attention. "The First Covenant" signed by the great Protestant Earls, and by a large number of other distinguished men among the lesser Barons and country gentlemen, was subscribed at Edinburg on the 3d of December, 1557. This was merely a common bond or covenant, in which they engaged for mutual support in defence of each other and of the Gospel. And during the existence of this covenant, or until another was framed and adopted, the chief Protestant ministers were received into the houses of the signers and confined their preaching mostly to these households.

"The Second Covenant" was signed at Perth, on the 31st of July, 1559, by the Earls and lords in behalf of all the signers of the "First Covenant," and of all who agreed in sentiment with them. Under this covenant bolder claims were put forth. It was now demanded that the sentence of outlawry against the ministers should be rescinded, and that they should be allowed to preach to any willing to hear them. And John Knox was openly chosen pastor of the Tolbooth on the 7th of July following, and immediately entered upon his duties, hurling his weapons with terrible earnestness at the Pope, the Cardinals, the priests, and the devil; but at the same time setting forth the way of salvation through Christ with great plainness and pathos, travailing in pain for the conversion of sinners. The influence of that pulpit was felt all over Scotland, and a cry came up to Parliament, asking that the Romish religion be no longer the religion of the State. From so many quarters did this loud cry come that it must no longer be unheeded. "The Confession of Faith" prepared by the Reformers, was presented and adopted. And on the 24th of August, 1560, Parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction in Scotland, prohibited the celebration of the mass, and rescinded all laws in support of the Roman Catholic Church and against the Reformed faith. Thus the great achievement so long desired was accomplished. The Reformers had advanced step by step until their efforts were crowned with complete

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success. But it is to be borne in mind that when Parliament abolished Popery not the slightest allusion was made to the General Assembly, or to any other convocation. Presbyterianism claimed entire independence of State control. Yet every obstacle had been taken out of the way; all that had been asked was obtained; and the Church was now free to assume her scriptural form, and the developed life given it from above.

On the 20th of December, 1560, *the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at Edinburg.* To the eyes of the world the gathering was small and insignificant, but what an influence has gone out from that little Assembly. Only six ministers and thirty-four elders were present. Indeed the whole number of Protestant ministers then in Scotland was only twelve. But the members of that Assembly were men of great learning, eminent abilities, and deep personal piety, exactly fitted for their responsible station. The ministers could converse almost as fluently in French as English, and at family worship their sons would be heard reading the holy Scriptures in French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, with nearly as much ease as in their native language. To say anything of the wonderful intellect and mighty heart of John Knox is unnecessary, since this is a theme with which all are familiar; and the remaining five ministers were men of distinction as to learning and abilities, while among the laymen were some of the ablest minds in the kingdom. The leaders and those in whom the evangelical spirit was strongest, saw at once the need of a thorough church discipline and well-regulated government, and set themselves prayerfully to this great work. It was committed mainly to the persons who had drawn up the "Confession" presented to Parliament. These were John Winram, John Spottswood, John Willock, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox: Knox being admitted on all hands to be "first among his equals." In due time "The First Book of Discipline" was presented. After some emendations and condensations it was adopted, not however, without considerable opposition on the part of some of the lay members, who objected to its strictness of discipline, and

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its unworldly aims. For it cannot be denied that some of these laymen expected no small advancement and no small amount of gain from the suppression of the Roman Catholic Church. And when they discovered that no such ideas were entertained by those who controlled the movement, they threw many difficulties in the way. In Parliament, Maitland, of Lethington, went so far as to say scoffingly, "we may now forget ourselves and bear the barrow, to build the house of God." This "First Book of Discipline" is the basis upon which the system of church government and discipline now held by all the different branches of the great Presbyterian Church throughout the world, has been framed. The experience of three hundred years has given the strongest confirmation to its excellence, to the wisdom with which it was framed, and to its adaptedness to the greatest purity and usefulness of the Church.

The Presbyterian Church as then constituted had office-bearers of four kinds: 1. The pastor, to whom the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments belonged. 2. The doctor, or teacher, whose business was to give instruction in theology, to interpret the Scriptures, and to refute errors. 3. The elders, who were to assist the minister in exercising discipline and government; and 4. The deacons, who had special charge of the revenues of the Church for the poor. The subject of education received special attention. It was made imperatively necessary to have a school in every parish. Thus the idea of the school and the kirk was fully developed in Scotland sixty years before the Puritans set foot on New England. Means were taken to provide funds for the education of the children of the poor; and it was even suggested that parents should not be permitted to neglect the education of their children. It was proposed to have a college in every "notable town," Thus we see that the system was Scriptural, consistent and compact in all its parts. Surely it is well to remember the men who, under God, framed such a system of opposition to all tyranny, both ecclesiastical and political; based it entirely on the Word of God; declared so fully Christ's sole Headship in the Church; and laid down a broad and

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scriptural platform upon which all evangelical Christians that hold Christ to be the Head can meet. Upon this platform the great Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, Ireland, and the United States now stand, and will stand while time endures.

Certainly this is a vine that God has planted. Looking up to him we can say, "Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills are covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof are like goodly cedars. She sends out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river."

Article VI.—The Great Rebellion Traced to its Source.

New England was originally settled by Puritans from South Britain, who, during the civil wars, were called "Round-heads" by the King's party, or those who were engaged in extending the royal prerogative. The first settlers in Eastern Virginia and some portions of the more Southern States were of the royal party, who were distinguished by the name of Cavaliers. It is true, however, that in the northern districts of South Carolina, the western section of North Carolina, and in East Tennessee, a large portion of the early settlers were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, whose ideas of civil and religious liberty were the same as those of the Puritans. Hence the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, which was adopted by a meeting of North

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Carolina Presbyterians, and of which the famous Declaration of '76 is little more than a revised copy. But, in the seaboard parts of the South—where the greatest amount of wealth, and, of course, the greatest amount of political influence, always existed, society received its tone chiefly from those of the Cavalier school, together with some French emigrants, who, though Protestants in name, had not yet embraced those ideas of civil and religious liberty which the Puritans brought with them to the New World.

That jealousies and dislikes should exist between two sections of country whose modes of thinking, habits and tastes were so different, is what all may be prepared to expect. Hence it will, perhaps, be remembered by some of our readers, that one reason assigned by some early writers for the appointment of General Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American army was, to enlist the great State of Virginia in the cause of liberty, or indnce her to coöperate more cheerfully with the Northern States.

The traditional jealousies and dislikes which existed between the Northern and Southern sections of our country were not wholly buried during the revolutionary war. Occasional articles still appeared in the newspapers of both sections, whose tendency was to produce irritation and keep alive a spirit of discord. Nor were exhibitions of the old prejudice wholly unknown in the halls of Congress in later years. The reader may possibly remember the famous remark of John Randolph of Roanoke, in which he represented the administration of John Quincy Adams as a union between a "Puritan and a Black-leg."

About the year 1816, Congress, in order to encourage domestic manufactures, passed a law imposing a tax on certain articles of foreign manufacture, which was afterwards known as the "tariff," or the "protective policy." It was not at first regarded with much favor by the Statesmen of New England. They feared that it would operate against the shipping and commercial interests of the North. Southern Statesmen were generally its friends; in particular, the Statesmen of South Carolina advocated it, because they

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hoped it would open a home market for their great staple, cotton. But the fears of the one, and the hopes of the other, were destined to meet with disappointment. New England became the advocate of the tariff; the South began to oppose it. And this was the origin of the opinion which began to disturb the minds of many Southern people, that they had to suffer grievous wrongs from the North; and which, at length, became a settled conviction that the interests of the two sections are irreconcileable.

The "tariff" was long the topic of the day. Again and again it was brought up in Congress for discussion, and amendments were made. During the pending of these discussions, Mr. Foote, of Connecticut offered a resolution (Dec. 29, 1829) in relation to the western lands. Plain, unpractised men might have been excused for thinking that it was rather a harmless resolution; but it was long and earnestly debated. By such men as Daniel Webster it was for a time regarded as rather a "pointless discussion;" but, for that very reason, it opened a wide field for that class of orators who are at a loss for "ideas for their words," to display themselves. It also opened a wide door for personal invective, and for the introduction of topics irrelevant to the question, but powerful to produce feelings of jealousy and ill-will. Whether in civil or ecclesiastical assemblies, no other kind of discussion is more to be eschewed, because no other kind of discussion has been productive of so much pure evil, without a particle of good. In one of his speeches, Mr. Hayne, a Senator from South Carolina,—young, ardent, talented, adventurous,—took occasion to say offensive things of New England, and also to broach some opinions which were afterwards called the "doctrines of nullification." The gist of the doctrine of nullification may be given in few words—"It assumes the right of a State, when she deems herself oppressed by an unconstitutional act of Congress, to declare by State ordinance such act of Congress null and void, and to discharge the citizens of the State from the duty of obedience." It, therefore, authorizes the Legislature of a State to assume the prerogative of the Supreme Court of the United States. It does more—it

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assumes the right of a State, to authorize by an act of her Legislature, her citizens to trample on a law of Congress, whenever, in the judgment of the majority, her interests or her safety requires it. It looked towards rebellion. It was secession under another name; though at first it aimed at following Governor Wise's original plan, of fighting *for the Union in the Union.*

The discussion was now no longer "pointless;" and Daniel Webster buckled on his armor. He replied to Mr. Hayne's arguments and invectives, in a speech which was, perhaps, more admired, not only in America but in Europe, than any other speech which had been made in Congress. He defended New England, and exposed the fallacy and the mischievous tendency of the doctrines advanced by Mr. Hayne. For a moment, it was supposed that the doctrine of nullification had received its quietus. But the hydra was not slain. The ambitious aspirants to power and fame in the South were only wounded in a tender point. The poison continued to work, though, as yet, the doctrine of nullification was abhorred by the mass of the honest yeomanry of the South.

In the year 1832 the Legislature of South Carolina passed the "ordinance of nullification." Happily, the "hero of New Orleans" occupied the Presidential chair; no irresolute man who did not know his own mind, and was afraid to follow it when he did know. He immediately issued his proclamation against the nullifiers, and began to take measures for maintaining the laws of Congress in South Carolina, by force, if necessary. The Scotch-Irish population in the northern parts of the State, not yet greatly weakened by emigration, nor brought under by the oligarchy, nor corrupted by negro-driving, generally stood up for the Union, and a strong union party was formed. But Governor Hayne, (the late Senator, was now Governor of the State,) to assure the nullifiers, issued a counter proclamation. The President laid the matter before Congress which met soon afterwards. Congress passed what went by the name of the "Force Bill," otherwise styled "a law to make farther provision for the collection of the revenue." The necessary

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means were placed at the disposal of the President. Mr. Calhoun, who had left the Cabinet in consequence of a quarrel with the President, and was now the successor of Mr. Hayne in the Senate, offered a series of resolutions, "affirming the right of a State to annul, as far as her citizens were concerned, any act of Congress which she may deem oppressive and unconstitutional." He sustained his resolutions by a speech which contained all the power of argument of which he was master, and which, the reader may be assured, was not small. Perhaps among American Statesmen, alive or dead, a more intellectual man has not arisen, than John C. Calhoun. In defence of the right, such a man is an host. But, let him take a false position, and set out from it as a premise, and he will bring forth an error of no ordinary magnitude, and may work a latitude of ruin quite beyond the reach of an ordinary man. Mr. Webster, (in some respects Calhoun's superior, for he was less addicted to abstractions, and therefore had more influence on the popular mind,) was his principal opponent. He sent a copy of his speech, in reply to Calhoun, to ex-President Madison, perhaps the most talented President we have ever had. In acknowledging its receipt, Madison said: "I return you my thanks for your late very powerful speech in the Senate of the United States. It crushes nullification, and must hasten the abandonment of *secession*." Secession, we see, is neither a new term nor a new idea. But Mr. Madison's hopes were too sanguine. He erred from supposing that mankind are more generally influenced by reason and truth than they are—an error into which all men are liable to fall, whose habits and modes of thinking were formed in a more plain and unsophisticated state of society, while as yet the thirst for wealth, and for the honors and emoluments of office, had not wrought out its full effects.

Madison was one of the leading spirits in framing the Federal Constitution, and he maintains, what has never been disputed by any, except politicians of the nullification school, that the Union is not a mere confederacy of States, or a compact between sovereign States, but a union of the

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people of the several States in one nation. Hence, in the very outset, the Federal Constitution,—a document with which all educated American people should be familiar,—declares that, "We, the people of the United States, * * do *ordain and establish* this Constitution for the United States of America." That is, we the people as the sovereigns, ordain and establish it, not only as the Constitution by which we agree to be governed, but "for (to control and govern) the United States of America," as States, as organized States; over these States, "we the people" claim, and do hereby exercise, the sovereignty. Hence, in his letter to Mr. Webster, Mr. Madison farther says:—"The Constitution of the United States being established by a competent authority,—*by that of the sovereign people* who were parties to it,—it remains only to inquire what the Constitution is; and here it speaks for itself. It organizes a government into the usual legislative, executive, and judicial departments; invests it with specified powers, leaving others to the parties to the Constitution. It makes the government, like all other governments, to operate directly on the people; places at its command the needful physical means of executing its powers; and finally proclaims its supremacy, and that of the laws made in pursuance of it, *over the Constitution and laws of the States;* the powers of governmet being exercised, as in other elective and responsible governments, under the control of its constituents, the people and the legislatures of the States; and subject to the revolutionary rights of the people, in extreme cases." Here observe—

1. The Constitution organizes a government into the usual legislative, executive, and judicial departments. Consequently, no individual, no combination of individuals, no State, has any right to interfere so as to hinder the exercise of its powers in any of these departments while it keeps within the limits prescribed to it by the Constitution. Nor, should it at any time or in any manner transgress these limits, has any State a right to offer resistance till all the constitutional methods of obtaining redress have failed. If the people of any State come forth and tell the world that

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our fathers fell into a great error in framing the Constitution, and that they, having obtained more light, have risen up to set the Constitution aside, and frame a government on a better foundation, they are guilty of a gross violation of a solemn compact.

2. It is the duty of the President, and his oath binds him, "*to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*" Consequently, he is to use "all the physical means which the Constitution places at his command" for this purpose. Had some Northern men duly considered this, they would not have joined with the Southern rebels in crying out against President Lincoln, as if he acted the despot, when he adopted energetic measures to defend the government against the assaults of its enemies.

3. It is a violation of the Constitution of the United States for any State to pass laws contrary to it, or to the laws made in pursuance of it. And any State which attempts to execute such laws by force is guilty of the overt act of treason.

4. The Constitution expressly provides that, "No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation." The language is unrestricted—it forbids any alliance with another State which may at all interfere with the action of the General Government, as well as with any foreign power. The first effort at confederation among the seceding States was traitorous. The Hartford Convention was traitorous in its design.

5. The Constitution *does not* recognize the right of revolution. This is a *natural* right, and is never to be classed with those *civil* or *political* rights, which it is the design of a constitution to secure to a people. It is sufficient that a constitution leaves it untouched. The framers of a constitution are not to suppose that an emergency will ever arise which will call for its exercise. Their business is to provide, to the utmost of their wisdom, against the possibility of the occurrence of such a crisis in the affairs of the nation, as will call for its exercise. And it is the duty of all good

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citizens to use their utmost endeavors that the Constitution shall be so faithfully administered, and the laws made in pursuance of it, so cheerfully submitted to, that such a crisis may never arise. For thirty or forty years past, our young men, in many of our colleges, have been too much accustomed to harangue, and hear harangues on the virtues of revolution. People are always disposed to be restive enough under constitutional restraints. No wise men, in framing a system of government, would think of inserting a provision which would keep the people in mind that they have a right to revolutionize.

While the subject of nullification was under discussion, Henry Clay offered a resolution in Congress to reduce the "tariff," so as to render it less objectionable to some Southern men. It was called a "compromise," and was finally voted for as such by John C. Calhoun. Daniel Webster was not consulted, because it was known that he was not in favor of the measure, believing, as he did, that the time had come when it was "necessary to test the strength of the Government and of the Constitution." He thought it a dangerous tendency to adopt a resolution which might be regarded as a concession to a State which had assumed an attitude of hostility towards the government. And it is known that Calhoun was afterwards rather fond of having it regarded as a concession which had been extorted by the formidable attitude which South Carolina had assumed.

During these discussions, Mr. Calhoun introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions which contained the modern secession doctrine in its fullness. The principle on which his doctrine was founded, and which it affirmed, was, that the Union is only a confederacy of different States as so many sovereignties, and that the people of these States were never united as one people or one nation. In his speech, he appealed to ancient history, and argued the right of secession from the fact that the Plebeians *seceded* from the city of Rome when they could not otherwise obtain from the Patricians such concessions as they desired, and from the secession of the ten tribes from the general government of

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Israel; but said nothing about Cataline. He was opposed by Davis and Webster of Massachusetts, Grundy of Tennessee, and others. Their arguments, and the "compromise," it was hoped by many, would silence or satisfy the nullifiers. But no. Benton and others tell us, that though Calhoun voted for the "compromise," which induced Clay and others to hope that he would be content, he continued to harp on the wrongs done to the South, and on the dangers to the Union, and on the impossibility of saving the Union, except by pursuing some line of conduct or policy such as he marked out. His language, the language of his coworkers, and the language of his followers down to the present time, was and is:—If you would preserve the Union, do as we tell you. The truth is, they had frequently found measures carried against them by such men as Clay, and Webster, and Van Buren. The first two could move the house and the galleries against them; Van Buren was too foxy for them. Their only remaining hope of reaching a high political eminence was in a Southern Confederacy.

As a natural consequence, anti-slavery societies began to be formed in the North. In 1835 Mr. Buchanan presented the petition of the "Friends" in Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He said that the Friends were not "fanatics," but they were a society of Christians, whose aim had always been to promote peace and good-will, though he dissented from the views expressed in their petition. The right of petition—the question whether such petitions should be received, began to be discussed. The more cavalierly the petitioners were treated, the more the petitions multiplied. Slavery agitation grew day by day. Complaints were made of "incendiary" publications being sent through the mails into the Southern States. The President, in his Message to Congress, recommended some action to prevent the circulation of such publications. Mr. Calhoun moved the appointment of a committee on that part of the message. Being made chairman of the committee, the report set forth the doctrines of the nullifiers or secessionists in bold relief. In his speech he contended that if the report was not adopted,

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Congress would justly be regarded as the ally of the Abolitionists. And, as he could have no hope that the report would be adopted, the only fair inference is, that he wished to create an occasion which would justify secession. Mr. Benton says that it now became apparent that Mr. Webster was right in refusing to support the "compromise," and that Mr. Clay was induced to say that, "in looking back over the whole case, he had seriously doubted the policy of his interference." Much more may we doubt it, who have lived to see its bitter fruits come to maturity. Had there been no "interference"—had the "old hero" been left to handle nullification and the nullifiers,—as he knew how to handle them, and as he was disposed to handle them,—the painful solicitudes and anxieties, and the blood and treasure which are now expended to preserve the Union, might have been saved. But men—honest and good Statesmen, who were relied on as guides—were apprehensive that it would be dangerous to the liberties of the country to give such a man as the "old hero," the command of such an armament as would be necessary to crush out nullification.

It would trespass on the Editor's space, and on the reader's patience, and be otherwise unprofitable, to dwell on the slavery "agitation"—so incessantly deprecated, and yet so industriously provoked—the demand that the Northern States should "suppress" the anti-slavery societies—the admission of Texas, and how the Union was to be dissolved if Texas were not admitted—the policy of some Southern Statesmen to form a vast Southern Confederacy by taking a slice off Mexico—the "Free-soil party"—the "Wilmot proviso," &c. We shall only add, that, in the year 1847, Mr. Calhoun offered a series of resolutions, in which the ground was taken that any law which would prohibit the citizens of any of the States from emigrating with their property into any of the Territories of the United States, would, in effect, deprive those States of equal rights under the Federal Constitution. On these resolutions he made a speech; but Mr. Benton says he never insisted that a vote should be taken on them, neither was a vote ever taken.

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They were mere abstractions, like the questions which are sometimes discussed, *in thesi*, in ecclesiastical assemblies, and which are seldom followed with any other effects than some unprofitable agitation. Mr. Benton remarks in substance, and with much truth, that instead of *emigrating with their property*, Mr. Calhoun should have written, *emigrating with the laws of their States*;—for the right of carrying with them the kind of property intended, implied the right of carrying with them such local laws as created this kind of property. But, here we have the origin of the grievous complaint, that the Southern States are deprived of equal rights under the Federal Constitution; and of the demand, that the Constitution must be construed, or amended, as to make it sanction—*nationalize* slavery, which has brought on the present "irrepressible conflict."

About the same time, Mr. Calhoun wrote a letter to a member of the Alabama Legislature, "*as to the steps which should be taken to guard the rights of the South.*" In this letter, he insists that, for their own sakes, and for the safety of their institutions, the South should "court the issue with the North on the slavery question." He laments that not even his own State had "backed him," when he would have "forced the issue on the North in 1835." He recommends the closing of the ports of the South against the vessels of those States which would not do as the South thought they should, but took care to say that "sea-going vessels" only should be excluded. The North-West was to have access to Southern ports by the river, or by railroads, "to detach the North-Western from the North-Eastern States." He knew how much men are influenced by interest; and he hoped that, for the sake of commerce with the South, the North-Westerns would lend themselves as tools to an oligarchy which was seeking to lord it over the entire Union.

On later events it is not necessary to dwell. They are fresh in the memory of all. The slavery question became a leading one in political platforms. The last Democratic Convention met in Charleston to nominate a candidate, to

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be supported by the party for the Presidency. The Southern wing would not act with the Northern wing, and the party was divided. They would have a Southern Democratic President, or they would see the Republicans triumph. If a Republican President was chosen it would present an occasion for raising the secession flag under the most favorable auspices. It is stated, on what seems to be good authority, that, when the news of Lincoln's election reached Charleston, there were great rejoicings in the streets.

Now, some of our readers may say, Why all this? The question before us is not, How did we get into our present difficulties? but, How are we to get out of them? Not so fast, good friends. We should seek to profit by experience. If by unwise counsels—if by too much temporizing—if by not standing forth and confronting the foe—if by not adopting efficient measures to remove an evil from the body politic before it assumed such proportions as to be almost unmanageable, our present difficulties have come upon us, it is right that we should know it, that we may be prepared to form a better idea of the course proper to be pursued, now that the crisis is upon us; and that, if once delivered, we may take the necessary precautions to prevent the recurrence of such a state of things. Grant, as we all should grant, that we are suffering the righteous judgments of God for our sins; still, God may inflict his judgments on a people by taking away the "prudent counsellor," or by withholding the gift of good counsel. And this should lead us to consider that, as our salvation must come from Him, we should earnestly beseech Him to teach our Senators wisdom, and our executive officers righteousness.

It is not for us to say what course our Statesmen should pursue in the present crisis, or to answer the questions which now do, or soon will, press themselves on their attention. But we may mention a few of these questions.

1. Is a peaceable separation possible? Will the North-West ever consent that the lower Mississippi should be in the possession of a foreign power, whose people are ready

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to hiss on the mob to attack a citizen of the North, and hang him on a tree, whenever a cry is raised against him as an Abolitionist?

2. Is there any good reason to hope that the secession States can ever again become peaceable, law-abiding members of the Union? May we still cherish the hope, that, when the sober, second thought returns, and the day comes, if it ever come, when the people at large will feel themselves free to speak out their minds, enough of the Union spirit can still be aroused to control the politics of the South?

3. Can this hope ever be realized unless the ambitious men who have forced the South into her present position are put down—*humbled;* and unless, to say the very least, the slaveholders are taught that they must be satisfied with the mere tolerance of their "institution" by the General Government, and with such protection as they can give it by their local laws?

What is our duty as Christians?

1. We should confess our sins and be humbled before God on account of them.

Our sin, in not prizing our liberties as we should; in not being thankful to the Governor among the nations for them; and in not improving the opportunities which we have enjoyed of profiting by the Gospel and its ordinances, and in not endeavoring, to the extent of our ability, to extend the blessings of the Gospel to those who are destitute of them. Our sin, in not taking care to choose able and God-fearing men for our rulers. We have too often suffered a desire for the success of our political party to banish from our minds all considerations of duty to God. We have too often acted as if we held ourselves not accountable to God for the manner in which we discharge our civil duties. Our sin is in not committing the keeping of our country to God as we should have done. We have relied too much on our excellent form of government, and on the wisdom of our Senators, and

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have refused to acknowledge God as our Refuge and our High Tower of defence. The sin of our people, North as well as South, is our treatment of our fellow-creatures of the African race. For the sake of some "navigation laws" which it was the interest of New England to preserve, and that South Carolina and Georgia might be furnished with some slaves, it was provided in the Federal Constitution that, previous to the year 1808 Congress should make no law for the suppression of the African slave-trade. And to this day this abominable traffic, the execration of the civilized world, has been extensively carried on by vessels fitted out by Northern men, and sailing from Northern ports—we cannot say, *in open defiance of the law;* for such has often been the indifference of the executors of the law, that there seemed to be no law to defy.

2. Christians should not doubt whether their allegiance is due to the government under which we have lived and enjoyed so much peace, and so many inestimable privileges, ever since we have had an existence on God's foot-stool.

Every one at all acquainted with the history of the past year must have seen and felt that some influence must have been studiously brought to bear on the people of the South to prepare them to rise up with such unanimity in rebellion against the Government, the moment their leaders gave the word of command. The preceding narrative shows how long they have been under a process of training for rebellion, and what means have been used to disaffect their minds towards the Government. None need suffer themselves to be deluded into the belief, that it was the election of a Northern President, which was the cause of the secession. One of their most honorable men tells us that it was not; nor was it anything of the kind; but they had a quarrel with the Federal Constitution, and were moreover of opinion that their "habits and institutions" were so different from those that prevail in the North, as to call for a separation. It is the duty—clearly the duty of every Christian man to stand by and defend the Federal Government in the exercise of all

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its constitutional powers, against all opposition. It may cost much treasure and blood to put down the rebellion. It will do so, if such is the will of God. But it is our duty to say—good is the will of the Lord. He has holy and wise purposes to fulfill by suffering all this evil to come upon us; this, we are not to doubt; nor are we to forget for a moment, that he means nothing but good to his people. How do we know but that, by scattering to the winds, the treasures which we have been laying up for ourselves on earth, while we have not been seeking to glorify Him as our Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer, he may teach thousands of us a lesson which we were slow to learn, but which, it was necessary for our spiritual and eternal welfare, we should learn?

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Article. VII—Sabbath-Schools:* Their Origin and Progress.

—Teneros animos aliena opprobria Sæpe
Absterrent Vitiis.

EASTERN CHAPTER.

Education, or the cultivation of man's intellectual and moral nature, is one of the most important works that could engage our attention. It is the culture of the intellect and the soul that makes the civilized to differ from the savage —the Christian from the Pagan. In the one, there is light and knowledge; in the other, there is darkness and ignorance; in the one, there is politeness and refinement, in the other, there is rudeness and vulgarity; in the one, there is thrifty independence, in the other, there is absolute helplessness. Want of educational development brings the savage down almost to a par with the inferior animals. He is unable to unlock and explore the store-houses of nature, and has no adequate appreciation of the works and wonders of creation.†

The cultivation of the mental and moral faculties, on the other hand, enables us to comprehend and unfold the beauties of the universe in the present; and to dwell, in rapturous contemplation, upon the boundless prospect of the most exquisite and unalloyed pleasure in the future. It is by religious education alone that we can be lifted in our contem-

* The writer will feel obliged to all persons who may feel inclined to notice this article, either in a public or private way, if they will forward a copy of their remarks or criticisms to the Rev. John Douglas, Pittsburg, Pa. It has been compiled from scanty materials, and as he contemplates writing another edition he would like to have this want supplied as far as possible. Documents bearing upon the subject are most earnestly solicited.

† Encyclopædia.

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plations from nature up to nature's God—be made to recline on the arm of omnipotence—be taught our dependence on the wisdom—caused to repose in the goodness of Deity, and stretch our thoughts into the blessed regions of an unending and glorious immortality. There is one period in their existence in which the sons and daughters of the civilized and savage have no points of difference. In the morning of life they are the same. The new-born child of the savage is as perfect in all respects, as the new born child of the most refined, civilized and erudite christian. They have the same corporeal parts and the same intellectual faculties. How, then, are they made to differ in after years? The only answer that can be given to this question is, by their education.*

It is not within our province, however, to give a history of education. We shall confine ourselves almost exclusively to the subject of Sabbath Schools, and endeavor to give, so far as the scanty materials with which we are supplied will enable us, a succinct account of their Rise and Progress.

There was no regular system of scholastic education among the nations of antiquity. And when schools were invented they were chiefly confined to the upper classes of society. In the early ages of the world, education was a domestic institution. Children were educated at home exclusively. Whatever instructions they received were imparted beneath the paternal roof. In the *Patriarchal* age, the father was prophet, priest and king in the family organization. There was no other system of government or education prior to this. Now, if by Sabbath-schools we are to understand institutions in which religious instruction is communicated on the Sabbath day, certainly such institutions were not unknown in the days of Abraham.† In the 18th chapter of Genesis and 19th verse, God says of this distinguished patriarch, For I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment.

* Ibid.

† Brown.

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This "command" embraced all needful instruction. And there is not room for a doubt, that Abraham taught his children and his household on the Sabbath as well as on other days. Indeed, it is claimed for modern Sabbath Schools that they have restored the patriarchal system of religious instruction. In the Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the American Sabbath-school Union, we find the following language: "The Sabbath-school * is the nearest approach to the family that human wit has yet devised. It separates groups of children into small companies, and gives to each of them one who, it is supposed, will act the part of a faithful, intelligent, Christian parent, or elder brother, or sister. The instruction drawn from this fountain of light is for the most part elementary, but embodies the sum and substance of what God has revealed as his holy will, and what duties and obligations man owes to God and to his fellow-man. It brings each child into such relations with others, that the power and influence of every well-taught lesson may be tested at once." Most unquestionably all this was taught in Abraham's house and on the Sabbath day. Indeed, unless by a few enthusiasts, nothing more has been claimed for the Sabbath-school than that it is an auxiliary to family, religious instruction.

It is not difficult to see that the patriarchal system, either of government or education, could not long exist. Lust for power would cause some to break off and establish separate patriarchal societies, and in proportion as these multiplied did the ties which bound them together become feeble and insecure. At length, through various causes, the patriarchal was changed into the *regal* form of government. And, as a necessary consequence a change took place in the system of education. Schools were now established. These, however, were not for the generol advantage of the masses. They were designed only for the children of monarchs, and of men of wealth and affluence. The number of children which could avail themselves of them was very small.

* We use the term Sabbath-school in preference to Sunday-school, and take the liberty of substituting it wherever the latter occurs.

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Among the Jews there were, in addition to the schools of the Rabbis, schools of the prophets and of the synagogues in which young men who were designed for the prophetic office, children and others, received religious instruction, at the New Moon and on the Sabbath day. II. Kings, iv. 23, "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon, nor Sabbath." "The first seminaries or places of instruction among the Jewish people were the cities of the Levites. In every tribe these Levitical cities were found, and the means of education for the Levitical office existed; nor is it certain that others did not share in the advantages of instruction with the sons of Levi. After the race of the prophets, there arose also the schools of the Prophets, in divers places both in Israel and Judah."* In the time of Samuel, the prophet, one of these schools flourished at Naioth. Others were established at Bethel, Jericho and Gilgal. Now whilst these schools were chiefly intended for training such young men as were designed for the prophetic office, it is not certain, as Howe remarks in regard to the seminaries in the Levitical cities, that *others* did not share in their advantages; for all were not called to the prophetic office who passed through these schools, neither was it limited to those who had been trained in them. Amos says: I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: and the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. By which he means that he had not received a theological education in one of the prophetic seminaries. And to these seminaries, or "*schools, devout persons repaired for instruction on the Sabbath,* and at new moon festivals."† The number, however, either of children or adults (for it is not essential to our argument whether they were children or adults) who could avail themselves of the religious privileges which these schools afforded, was comparatively small. Those scholastic institutions fell far short of that general system of Sabbatical ed-

* Howe.

† Brown.

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ucation which we enjoy in these days, and through which so many young prophets receive the first impulse towards the sacred office of the holy ministry.

We know, also, that Sabbath-schools—schools in which religious instruction was imparted on the Sabbath-day—were established in connection with the Jewish synagogues; and these places of worship came into existence, at least, after the return of the nation from its captivity. The Jews assure us that there were no less than four hundred and eighty of these synagogues at one time in Jerusalem. It is supposed that Ezra received a commission from heaven for the organization of synagogues, in order that the people might be made more familiar with the law, and that thereby the evils of idolatry might be more effectually counter acted. And children would not be overlooked, certainly, in the synagogic, sabbatical instructions. There could not be better subjects for instruction. Nor could the evils aimed at be so effectually counteracted in any other way than by the religious education of the youth. For, if the young mind is brought early under the influence of moral culture, it "may be made to produce anything." It is soft and pliable, and is easily moulded into any shape. This is just what the Sabbath-school of our day aims to perform. It endeavors to fortify the minds of youth against the evils and corruptions that abound in the world—to perpetuate the worship of the true God, and prepare souls for glory. And at no time can this be so effectually accomplished as in the morning of life. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is *old* he will not depart from it.

If we are not allowed to say that our Saviour was a Sabbath-school teacher, we can say that he *taught* on the Sabbath day. Mat. ix. 35. "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, *teaching* in the synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom." We would be very sorry to say that any man had invented a way of instructing and reclaiming children that was *unknown* to our Saviour. The youth in the towns and villages of Jewry were taught, in the days of our Lord, to greater advantage on the Sabbath day than they are at the present time by any Sabbath-school

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teacher. Christ has dignified the work of sabbatical teaching, and none should view it as humiliating or degrading. Let it not be said that the passage quoted, and others to which we might direct attention, refer to Christ merely as a preacher. It is said plainly that he both *taught* and *preached.* He taught in the synagogue long *before* he preached in it. And the interest which he uniformly manifested in children is a sufficient guarantee that they were not neglected in his synagogic teachings. What did the Saviour—the Great Shepherd of the sheep—mean when he said, feed my lambs? Unquestionably, that they were to be made the recipients of spiritual knowledge. And is it at all likely that they would be taught religion during the days of the week and be neglected on the Sabbath? Indeed, there are too many injunctions laid upon parents, in the law of Moses, to attend to the religious education of their offspring, and those committed to their care, to leave room for a doubt in regard to the neglect of the Jews in the sabbatical religious culture of children.

We shall pass by the Egyptian schools (the earliest on record) in which Moses and others were educated. The proficiency of the Egyptians in science and letters is well known by every reader in history.

The Greeks at a comparatively early period paid great attention to the education of their youth. Five centuries before Christ, private schools, at which children of both sexes received all the elements of a modern education, were established in the principal cities of Greece. But, alas! the system of Lycurgus was one merely of military training; it possessed nothing that was calculated to expand and elevate the human intellect—nothing to arouse and stimulate to activity the noblest desires, affections, and aspirations of our nature. Two hundred years after the establishment of these schools in Greece, similar institutions were founded in Roman cities "for boys."* Yet, there was nothing in all the scholastic education of antiquity that would compare with that systematic course which we now

* American Encyclopædia.

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enjoy. But it would be most unfair to argue that because the ancient nations had no organized system of education like that which obtains amongst us, that therefore, they were entirely destitute of secular learning. And it is just as unfair to argue that because there were no Sabbath-schools corresponding in all their details to that system which now obtains in Britain, America, and other places, that therefore the children were allowed to grow up like noxious weeds in the Lord's vineyard—without receiving any religious culture on the Sabbath day!

No sooner did Christianity dawn upon our world than a complete revolution was effected, through its influence, in the scholastic system of education. We have already seen that our Saviour himself taught regularly on the Sabbath and other days of the week in the cities, villages and synagogues of the Jews. In the East, at an early period, the clergy had the control of the education of the young. Schools were established for the elementary education of such men as designed becoming Christian teachers, as well as for Catechumens. These institutions flourished from the second till the fifth century. After this period, they seem to have declined greatly, until they finally gave way to the ecclesiastical or church schools which were established in connection with congregations, and in which proselytes and the children of Christian parents received their education. The "Catechetical" and "Catechumenical" schools of this period differed in this:—In the former, Christianity was taught as a science; in the latter, all the elements of a popular education were inculcated.*

Schools, secular and religious, flourished in Ireland, England, France and Germany, at Armagh, Clogher, Canterbury, York, Westminster, Paris, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Utrecht, Bremen, and many other places, from the beginning of the Christian era. Now, does it not seem strange, if in those times the *religious* education of children was entirely confined to *secular* days? This could scarcely have been the case.

* Encyclopædia.

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A new impulse was given to scholastic education, of every kind, in the days of the Reformation. "In all countries where the Reformation became general it had a decided influence upon the schools. It had even a considerable influence in several Roman Catholic countries; but its effects were most decided in Germany, where schools for girls were founded, and instructors appointed to teach the catechism in villages."*

We now come to the history of *modern* Sabbath-schools, and enter the arena of scholastic combat. Many nations claim the honor of having invented the present system of sabbatical instruction. Guided by such historical light as we possess, we shall act the part of a faithful umpire, and endeavor to decide the controversy among them.

We have long since come to the conclusion that neither Raikes nor England is entitled to the honor. Sabbath-schools have been in existence in Scotland since the time of the Reformation from Popery. The first witness which we call to the proof here is *The Free Church Magazine* for June, 1844. It says:

"The object of the Free Church is not the support of a sect, but the regeneration of Scotland. For this she possesses many advantages; and one of these is, that she has at her command an immense amount of *unpaid agency*. If the Establishment had to set agoing a sustentation scheme, she would have to pay her collectors. But to the Free Church the willing hearts and hands of thousands are saying, 'Here am I, send me.' The unpaid laborers have almost all "come out." Thus, while little more than one-third of the ministers left the Establishment, at least nineteen out of every twenty Sabbath-school teachers did so. These are, for the most part, the sap and flower of congregations—young, ardent, intelligent, full of love, not easily frightened by difficulties; and as the love of Christ constrained them to work without wages before, they are ten times more ready to do so now. For the due employment of these laborers the Church is under a solemn responsibility to God.

"Sabbath-school teaching is of no recent origin in Scotland. The system of Sabbath-school teaching, through the

* Ibid.

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instrumentality of "readers," was devised and employed by John Knox at the very beginning of the Reformation, and has always been, to some extent, practiced in Scotland ever since. John Brown, the godly carrier, had in his day a Sabbath-school at Priesthill. Even as a modern system, it was not borrowed from England, (as some imagine); for schools were in existence at Glasgow and other places about the middle of the last century—both at an earlier date and on a better plan, than Robert Raike's experiment at Gloucester. They did not become common, however, till the beginning of this century. Vital religion, and the 'godly upbringing of the young,' have ever gone hand in hand. As moderatism rose, godly parents and school-masters became scarce, and accordingly those who were at that time alive to eternal realities, resorted to Sabbath-school teaching as a means of stemming the tide of ungodliness. This is the history of the revival and increase of Sabbath-schools in Scotland. Moderatism and Sabbath-schools have ever been deadly enemies. Yet, though denounced by the General Assembly of 1799, and encountering the frowns of some ministers and the cold looks of others, they were attended evidently with a blessing from on high. Every year has the system and the blessing been increased. What God has done it should be ours to own. The Sabbath-school has been a nursery for the Church, and though an humble, yet an honored means of bringing souls to Jesus."

Such is the testimony of the *Free Church Magazine* in 1844. It is corroborated by many surrounding circumstances. It was the pen of John Knox that drew up the First Book of Discipline. In that instrument it is ordained that "every several kirk have one school-master appointed," not merely for the secular, but also for the religious training of the youth. In the same section it is added: "If it be in the country where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechism,* as we have it now translated in the Book of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva." The estates are earnestly admonished not to overlook "the chief

* Calvin's Catechism.

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towns" in the appointment of "superintendents," lest their youth should lack "the profound interpretation of Scripture," and it might be long before the "garden send forth many plants." And again the importance of the religious instruction of the youth of Scotland is set forth in the following words:

"Of necessity it is that your honors be most careful for the vertuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfainedly the advancement of Christ's glorie, or yet desire the continuance of his benefits to the generation following; for as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be careful that they have knowlege and education to profit and comfort that which ought to be most deare to us, to wit, the kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus."

In these quotations there is evidence sufficient to satisfy every reasonable mind, that schools for religious instruction on the Sabbath day, have existed in Scotland since the year 1560. But we find additional corroboration in the laws of the Church of Scotland. In the year 1647 the Commissioners of Universities represented to the General Assembly that the overtures of 1643 "for the visitation of schools and the advancement of learning were very much neglected;" whereupon, the Assembly recommended to "all universities to be careful to take account of their scholars on *the Sabbath-day* of the sermons and of their lessons of the Catechism."*

But farther, in 1799 an overture from the Synod of Aberdeen was brought before the General Assembly respecting "Vagrant Teachers and Sabbath-schools." This overture was referred to a committee to "inquire into the existing laws which place school-masters and teachers of youth under the inspection and control of the established church, and to report to the Assembly a statement of those laws." The Committee reported, that they did "not judge it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the more ancient laws with respect to the power of the church over *all* schools and teachers of youth." The General Assembly as early as the year

* Laws of the Church of Scotland, page 163.

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1565, claimed it as their right that none should be permitted to teach publicly or privately, but such as were tried by the superintendents, or visitors of the kirk, and found qualified. This claim was confirmed by an Act of Parliament, which was passed in the year 1567, and provided, that the youth be brought up and instructed in the fear of the Lord, and that none be permitted to instruct the youth privately or openly, but such as shall have been tried by the superintendents or visitors of the kirk.*

Here then we see that the laws of 1565 were deemed adequate in the judgment of the Assembly for the government and regulation of Sabbath-schools in 1799, or in other words, that Raike's plan which had been in operation for eight or nine years had not suggested to the Scottish Assembly any improvement in the "more ancient" laws regarding religious instruction on the Sabbath day.

We shall now come down to about the year 1707. We have the authority of the Rev. John Brown, D. D., of Langton, Berwickshire, Scotland, for saying, that Sabbath-schools were known to exist in Glasgow and other places at this time, and that Raikes admitted that he was not their founder. Writing in 1837, Dr. Brown says:

"The name of Raikes will long be remembered throughout future ages with veneration and gratitude, as a distinguished benefactor, not only of his native country, but of the human race. Though not the founder of Sabbath-schools, strictly speaking, *as he himself mentions in very modest terms in a letter to Mr. Fox, July 12th, 1787, and as is asserted by his able and excellent biographer, and by the Sabbath-school Society,* he was honored to be the instrument of introducing them into England, without the slightest knowledge of their having existed previously in a more perfect form in the northern part of the island." Dr. Brown adds: "My venerable friend, the Rev. Dr. Burns of the Barony Parish Glasgow, now more than ninety years of age, wrote to me in a letter dated 12th May 1826, 'I remember that in 1782 the Sabbath-schools in Glasgow, and in the Barony Parish, were established, and I believe they were begun before we had received the information of what was done by Mr.

* Laws of the Church of Scotland, page 873.

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Raikes. I know I regularly attended those in the Calton in 1782.' And immediately after the publication of my sermon,* I received a letter from the late Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Baronet, in which he mentioned that a school-master at Banchory, Devinick, in Aberdeenshire, established a Sabbath-school as far back as 1782, and without any knowledge of the schools at Gloucester. But the principal facts on which I rest my opinion of the prior existence of the Scottish schools are the following:

"In the year 1829, I happened to mention to Mr. Thomas Chartres, merchant in Berwick, and lately mayor, the general impression which prevailed in England that Mr. Raikes was the founder of our Sabbath-schools, and that he had commenced them in the end of 1781, or in the beginning of 1782. He said that it was a mistake, for he knew of a school which had been taught at Norham before the schools of Mr. Raikes, by the Rev. Mr. Morrison, the minister of a Scottish Presbyterian congregation; and that he was acquainted with some old persons who had attended it. And upon my begging him to procure for me the particular information respecting that school, he put into my hands, a short time after, the following letter:—

Norham, Nov. 6, 1829.

MR. CHARTRES, SIR:—At your request I have made enquiry about the Sabbath-school. I went to Robert Robison, but he could not remember of being there; but his wife told me that she attended some time, but could not say exactly at what age. I went to her brother Robert Hall, he told me he was there when it commenced; he was then about nine years of age, and is at present near eighty-two years old. According to his account it will be full seventy-two years ago. I have had information from *two others*, who gave me the same account. I am Sir,

Your sincere friend,
JAMES GILCHRIST.

"This important document proves the existence of the Scottish Presbyterian Sabbath-schools in 1757, or twenty-four years before those of Mr. Raikes; but I delayed the publishing of it till I received, a few days ago, an unexpected

* "The Testimony of Experience to the Necessity and Utility of Sabbath-schools," delivered in St. Andrews Church, Edinburg, on the 28th of May, 1826, on behalf of the Edinburg Gratis Sabbath-school Society, and of the Sabbath-school Union for Scotland.

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testimony to the establishment of another school at a more early period in a Scottish parish near to Norham, which, if it did not suggest to Mr. Morrison the idea of his school, might probably stimulate him to his labours of love among the young of his congregation. The parish to which I refer was that of Simprin, the scene of the early labors of Boston, whose successor, the pious Mr. David Landert, a native of my own parish, taught for a long time a Sabbath-school, which was celebrated throughout Berwickshire for its blessed effects. I have not ascertained the particular year in which he began it, but as he succeeded Mr. Boston soon after his translation to Ettrick in 1707, it is exceedingly probable that it might not be long afterwards. One of my elders, Peter Lillie, a respectable individual in humble life, and nearly eighty years of age, informs me, that about sixty years ago he lodged for some months with an aged widow in the village of Simprin, who used often to speak of the good which Mr. Landert had communicated to the young for many years by his Sabbath-school. And he mentions that when he began business at Coburn, in the Parish of Dunse, three years afterwards, an exceedingly well informed and serious Christian of the name of John Fairbairn, then about sixty years of age, used often to come to his shop, and talked of the benefit which he had derived from the school when he was a boy of nine or ten years of age; and he gave my elder a reading of some books which he got from Mr. Landert when he attended it. I may add, that John Fairbairn's daughter, who resides in a neighboring parish, rather more than three miles from my house, confirms this statement; and I have no doubt of the early existence of many other schools."

This testimony of Dr. Brown is most conclusive. But it is questionable whether Raikes is entitled even to the honor of introducing Sabbath-schools into England. The following statement appeared in the *Northern Christian Advocate*, which is published at Auburn, New York, sometime during the summer of 1860:—

"It is now definitely known that a Sabbath school was originated in England, as early as 1688, by the Rev. Joseph Alleine, author of the 'Alarm to the Unconverted,' nearly a hundred years before the date of Mr. Raikes' school." There is evidently a mistake in the above dates, for Joseph Alleine was born in the year 1633, and died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, or in the year 1668, that is one hun-

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dred and fourteen years before Raikes established his school at Gloucester.*

We have carefully examined the life of Alleine to find something corroborative of the statement made in the New York paper, and after duly weighing the evidence we are inclined to believe its correctness. The following are our reasons for arriving at this conclusion: Alleine was a man of great learning and eminent piety. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Lincoln College, Oxford, and was soon afterwards elected "Scholar" of *Corpus Christi* College. His zeal for religion appeared to have developed itself in the eleventh year of his age. About this time he was found to engage diligently in private prayer. He had an eye single to the divine glory, and labored most assiduously to promote it. In October, 1655, he was united in marriage to a most pious and amiable lady. About two years afterwards, his wife and he rented a house in Taunton, and established a boarding and day-school, "hoping" to make themselves more useful. He catechised the scholars, of whom there were between fifty and sixty, once or twice each week, on the Holy Scriptures. His biographer says: "His Lord's-days work was great. In his repetitions in public, as well as catechising, his own family came all in their turns, to answer in the congregation, both scholars and servants." It can hardly be suppose that such a man under such circumstances would allow the Sabbath to pass over without communicating religious instructions to the youth committed to his care. And the week-day, would suggest the idea of a Sabbath-day school.

In addition we have the following statement in *Putnam's Home Encyclopædia*, taken from the North of Scotland Gazette: "Sabbath-schools were partially in operation previous to the great effort of Mr. Raikes, through the instrumentality of Miss Walker, a Quaker lady of Tottenham, near London, and the Rev. Mr. Lindsay and wife of Catterick, Yorkshire."

With this cumulative testimony to the contrary, we can

* We would rather say that if a school was established by Alleine, it must have been about 1658, or 124 years before the Raikes experiment.

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no longer accord to Robert Raikes the honor of having instituted Sabbath-schools in England, yet his name is worthy of a grateful remembrance for having given a new impulse to a system so fraught with blessing to the church and the world.

Robert Raikes was the son of a printer who was the proprietor of a weekly newspaper entitled, the *Gloucester Journal*, published in Gloucester, England. He was born in Gloucester in the year 1735, and died April 5th, 1811, in the 76th year of his age. "He was brought up to the occupation of a printer, and succeeded to the proprietorship and publishing of the journal first owned and published by his father." The circumstances which led him to establish Sabbath-schools in his native town are well known. Let him relate them himself. In a letter written to Col. Townly, of Lancashire, he says:

"*Gloucester, Nov.* 25, 1783.

"SIR:—My friend, the Mayor, has just communicated to me the letter which you have honored him with, inquiring into the nature of the Sabbath-schools. The beginning of this scheme was entirely owing to accident. Some business leading me one morning into the suburbs of the city, where the lowest of the people (who are principally employed in the pin manufactory,) chiefly reside, I was struck with concern at seeing a group of children, wretchedly ragged, at play in the streets. I asked an inhabitant whether those children belonged to that part of the town, and lamented their misery and idleness. 'Ah! sir,' said the woman to whom I was speaking, 'could you take a view of this part of the town on a Sabbath, you would be shocked indeed; for then the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches. who, released on that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot, playing at chuck, and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell, rather than any other place. We have a worthy clergyman,' said she, 'minister of our parish, who has put some of them to school; but upon the Sabbath, they are all given up to follow their inclinations, without restraint, as their parents, totally abandoned themselves, have no idea of instilling into the minds of their children principles to which they themselves are entire strangers.'

"This conversation suggested to me that it would be, at

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least, a harmless attempt, if it were productive of no good, should some little plan be formed to check this deplorable profanation of the Sabbath. I then inquired of the woman if there were any decent, well-disposed women in the neighborhood, who kept schools for teaching to read. I presently was directed to four. To these I applied, and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as I should send upon the Sabbath, whom they were to instruct in reading, and in the church catechism. For this, I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment. The women seemed pleased with the proposal. I then waited on the clergyman before mentioned, and imparted to him my plan. He was so much satisfied with the idea, that he engaged to lend his assistance, by going round to the schools on a Sabbath afternoon, to examine the progress that was made, and to enforce order and decorum among such a set of little heathens.

"This. sir, was the commencement of the plan. It is now about three years since we began, and I could wish you were here to make inquiry into the effect. A woman who lives in a lane where I had fixed a school, told me some time ago, that the place was quite a heaven upon Sabbaths, compared to what it used to be. The numbers who have learned to read and say their catechism are so great that I am astonished at it. Upon the Sabbath afternoon, the mistresses take their scholars to church, a place into which neither they nor their ancestors ever entered, with a view to the glory of God. But what is yet more extraordinary, within this month, these little ragamuffins have in great numbers taken into their heads to frequent the early morning prayers, which are held every morning at the cathedral, at seven o'clock. I believe there were near fifty this morning. They assemble at the house of one of the mistresses, and walk before her to church, two and two in as much order as a company of soldiers. I am generally at church, and after service they all come around me to make their bow; and if any animosity have arisen, to make their complaint.

"The great principle I inculcate, is, to be kind and good natured to each other; not to provoke one another; to be dutiful to their parents; not to offend God by cursing and swearing; and such little plain precepts as all may comprehend. * * * * * * *

"With regard to the rules adopted, I only require that they come to the school on Sabbath as clean as possible. Many were at first deterred because they wanted decent

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clothing, but I could not undertake to supply this defect. I argued, therefore, if yon can loiter about, without shoes, and in a ragged coat, you may as well come to school, and learn what may tend to your good in that garb. I reject none on that footing. All that I require are clean hands, clean face, and the hair combed; if you have no clean shirt, come in that which you have on. The want of decent apparel at first kept great numbers at a distance, but they now begin to grow wiser, and all are pressing to learn. I have had the good luck to procure places for some that were deserving, which has been of great use. You will understand that these children are from six years old to twelve and fourteen. Boys and girls above this age, who have been totally undisciplined, are generally too refractory for this government. A reformation in society seems to me only practicable by establishing notices of duty and practicable habits of order and decorum at an early stage.

* * * * * * * *

"I have the honor to be sir,

"Yours, &c.,

"R. RAIKES."

In the course of twenty years no less than three thousand children received their education in Raikes' schools at Gloucester, and after visiting the city and county jaols, he only found *one* * of these that had been guilty of criminality. And yet there is no evidence that I have met with, so far, that convinces me that they were much more than secular or literary schools which Raikes established. They were far less of a religious kind than the parochial schools of Scotland which were established by the Reformers. It is said, "that the time of the pupils seems to have been occupied principally in learning to read and write, and in a few instances to do accounts." Children were taught to write in many schools in the British Isles, within the memory of the writer, on the Sabbath-day.

Shortly after Raikes established his school at Gloucester, other schools were founded in different places. Many of them soon declined for want of support. Their straitened circumstances led to the establishment, in 1785, of the "Sabbath-school Society," the object of which was to promote,

* Lancaster says "*none.*"

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by correspondence and pecuniary assistance, the establishment of Sabbath-schools in all parts of the country. A preliminary meeting was held in the British Metropolis to take into consideration the necessity and propriety of forming a society for establishing and promoting Sabbath-schools for the instruction of the poor children throughout the kingdom; and, in pursuance of a resolution which was then adopted, a public meeting was held on the 7th of September and an institution formed, entitled, "*A Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sabbath-schools in the Different Counties in England.*" The formation of this society proved highly beneficial—it inspired public confidence—quickened public benevolence and stimulated the people to greater zeal and activity. The Bishops did not think the work beneath their notice. They lent a helping hand, "and cast the weight of their mitres into the scale of the good cause." Honorable mention may be made in this connection, of the bishops of Salisbury and Llandaff, and the deans of Canterbury and Lincoln. So mighty was the impulse that the moral "*Archimedes*" gave to the work of Sabbatical instruction, and so great was the increase of the schools, that it is thought that no less than 250,000 children were receiving instruction in them at the close of 1786.

The schools were conducted at first on the "paid system." During the first ten years of its existence, the Sabbath-school Society expended in salaries no less than twenty thousand dollars. The expense was not the worst feature of the case. It was thought that teachers who performed so much work for so much pay lacked both interest and zeal. A writer in the Sabbath-school Repository says: "If we were asked, whose name stood next to that of Robert Raikes in the annals of Sabbath-schools, we should say, the person who first came forward, and voluntarily proffered his exertions, his time and his talents, to the instruction of the young and the poor; since an imitation of his example has been the great cause of the present flourishing state of these institutions, and of all that future additional increase which may be reasonably anticipated. At what precise period this was first introduced, does not appear, or when it commenced,

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so that the award of this second honor is reserved for the decision of the last day. About the year 1800, this plan became very general throughout the kingdom."

Sabbatical instruction in a systematic though secular-religious way, generally prevailed throughout England in the beginning of the present century. Almost every city, town and village became enlisted in it. "Still there was one thing wanting to raise the system to the highest degree of efficiency, and that was union." It was thought that if those who took an interest in the good and laudable work would only unite their counsels and labors and put forth a combined and united effort it would greatly aid the cause. At length, after considerable conversation on the subject a public meeting was held, July 3d; 1803, in the school-rooms connected with the Surrey Chapel, London, and "*The Sabbath-school Union*," was formed. The following is the Constitution of the Union:

1. The objects of this Union shall be—First, to stimulate and encourage Sabbath-school teachers, at home and abroad, to greater exertions in the promotion of religious education. Secondly, by mutual communication to improve the methods of instruction. Thirdly, to ascertain those situations where Sabbath-schools are most needed, and promote their establishment. Fourthly, to supply the books and stationery suited for Sabbath-schools, at reduced prices. In carrying these objects into effect, this Society shall not in any way interfere with the private concerns of Sabbath-schools.

2. This Union shall consist of the ministers and teachers of those Sabbath-schools in London and its suburbs, whose conductors hold the doctrine of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit, and that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and who have subscribed during the preceding year, ending March 31st, to either of the metropolitan Auxiliaries not less than 5*s* per annum, together with individual subscribers to this Union of a like amount. A donation of ten guineas at one time shall constitute the donor a member for life.

3. The affairs and funds of this Union shall be under the direction of a general Committee, consisting of a President, the Treasurer, the Secretaries, and twenty members, elected at the annual meeting, together with representatives from

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the committee of each metropolitan Auxiliary; each metropolitan Auxiliary having not less than 500 teachers connected therewith to send one representative, and an additional representative for every 500 additional teachers so connected. The Committee thus constituted shall meet once in each month, or oftener if requisite, at such time and place as shall be fixed by themselves—*five* members to form a quorum. A special meeting may be called by five members communicating their request in writing to the Secretaries. The Committee shall have power to fill up vacancies.

4. Country Sabbath-school Unions, annually subscribing and reporting to this Society, may be aided as the Committee shall judge expedient.

5. Three auditors shall be appointed, who shall examine the balance-sheet prepared by the Committee, and report the result of such examination to the annual meeting.

6. An Annual Meeting of the Union shall be held in April or May, when the reports of the Committee and Auditors shall be read, and the President, Treasurer, Secretaries, Committee and Auditors elected. Special meetings of the members may be called by the Committee, or by a requisition in writing signed by not less than 250 members, and stating the object of the meeting, which shall be held within one month after the receipt of the requisition.

7. All meetings of this Union shall be opened with prayer.

This Union also exerted a most happy influence. It breathed new life into the schools, whilst it scrupulously abstained from all interference with their internal management and arrangements. It is seldom, if ever, that man can perfect his plans at once. The Union was crippled in its efforts and was seriously affected in its interests from want of method. This want was soon felt, and it led to the publication, in 1806, of "A Plan for the Formation and Regulation of Sabbath-schools."

London was now the grand centre from which Unions radiated in every direction. In a short time Unions were formed in many places and yielded much fruit: they established schools in destitute regions in cities, rural districts and country villages.

Modern Sabbath-schools, we believe, were instituted in Ireland about the year 1793, but the "*Sabbath-school Society*

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for Ireland" was not formed until 1809. The last was, therefore, the "JUBILEE YEAR" of the society. Its "fundamental principles" are: to promote the establishment and facilitate the conducting of Sabbath-schools in Ireland—by disseminating the most approved plans for the management of such schools—by supplying them with suitable books, and copies of the sacred Scriptures, or extracts, without note or comment—either gratuitously or at reduced prices. It pledges itself not to assume any control over the internal regulations of the schools in connection with it—nor use any interference in their concerns, than that of kind admonition and advice—nor disseminate amongst the schools any book relating to religious instruction, except the Scriptures.

The first modern Sabbath-school that is known to have existed in Asia was established by the Wesleyan missionaries in Ceylon, June 4, 1815.

In the Annual Report of the London Sabbath-school Union for 1818, we are told that Sabbath-schools were then in successful operation in Bordeaux and La Garde, near Montauban, France; also, in Holland, in Rotterdam and Zeist; also, in Sidney, Richmond, and seven other places mentioned in New South Wales.* And, in addition to the Union in Canada, we are informed in the Report for 1860 of the same society, that there is a Union in South Australia and another in Victoria—and that Sabbath-schools have been established in Cuba, and on the western coast of South America, at Calle Victoria, Coquimbo, and Loto. They are numerous in India, China, and other places.

We regret deeply, that with all our efforts to obtain them, we are not in the possession of such statistical tables as will enable us to give any adequate idea of the progress of Sabbath-schools in those countries to which we have referred. We hope that this deficiency will soon be made up by some one else. In the meantime, we present such statistics as we could obtain. In 1837, the number of pupils in the

* Pardee in Newcombe.

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Sabbath-schools of Great Britain alone was one million, five hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and ninety. But, with Ireland and the colonies, they amounted to about two millions. The Report of the Glasgow Union for 1836 shows that there were then 25,000 children receiving religious instruction in that city. In 1860 the city of Edinburgh, Scotland, with a population of 170,000 souls, there were 160 Sabbath-schools, taught by 1800 teachers and attended by 18,000 pupils, of whom 3,000 were young men and women, and about 15,000 under 14 years of age.

In regard to the progress of Sabbath-schools in England we have any amount of statistics, but they are given in such a confused way that it is impossible almost to give anything but the aggregate. In the last Annual Report of the London Sabbath-school union we have immense columns of figures, but they are not footed up. We shall endeavor to make the best of these and other tables. In 1855, the number of Sabbath-school children in England was 2,369,039; and when we add to this the number of Welsh children who attended the Sabbath-schools, the total is about 2,407,642.* England did not think it worth while to enquire into the state of education, until about the year 1818, when Lord Brougham became its warm and strenuous advocate. When the educational returns of that year, and those of 1833, which were obtained through Lord Kerry, are compared with the returns of Mr. Mann, in 1851, the progress of sabbatical instruction is such as to gladden the hearts of those who take an interest in the "godly upbringing of the young."

In 1818, when the population of England amounted to 11,642,683, there were 19,230 day-schools, with 674,885 scholars, or one in every 17.25 of the population; and 5,463 Sabbath-schools, with 477,225 scholars, or one in 24.40 of the population.

In 1833, when the population was estimated at 14,400,000, there were 38,971 day-schools, with 1,276,947 scholars, or

* North British Review.

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one in 11.27; and 16,828 Sabbath-schools, with 1,548,890 scholars, or one in 9.28.

In 1851, when the population was 17,927,609, there were 46,042 day-schools, with 2,144,378 scholars, or one in 8.36; and 23,514 Sabbath-schools, with 2,407,642 scholars, or one in 7.45.

These figures make the progress of Sabbath-schools in England to appear almost fabulous. Their increase has been nearly ten times greater, in proportion, than that of the population. The population only increased fifty-four per cent. between 1818 and 1851, whilst the increase of Sabbath-schools was about 504 per cent. And yet, much has to be done for the youth of England. In 1851, according to a little work entitled, "The Census and Sabbath-schools," the youthful population of the country amounted to *four millions, nine hundred and eight thousand, six hundred and ninety-six.* There being, children under 5 years of age, 2,348,107; above 5, and under 10, 2,092,359; between 3 and 7 years, 1,765,420,—(Of this latter, the proportion of working-class children is estimated to be, 1,324,065,)—while the number between 3 and 15, is 4,908,696,—(of which the proportion of working-class children is estimated to be, 3,681,522.) Of children between the ages of 3 and 15 there were at work, 599,829; between the same ages at school, 2,046,848; between the same ages neither at work nor at school, 2,262,019. Total, 4,908,696.

There is one thing that must strike those who pay attention to the educational statistics of the British Isles, and that is, that there are generally more scholars in the Sabbath than in the day-schools. We had formed erroneous conclusions on this subject. We had supposed the reason to be that they were earning a livelihood for themselves. So far as England is concerned, the above figures have disabused our minds on this subject. The number at work is comparatively very small, only a little more than the one-fifth of those who are receiving secular instruction.

Another thing is remarkable, that whilst the total number of children in England, proper, who attend Sabbath-schools, is 2,369,039, only 935,892 of them attend schools

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connected with the Established Church. "The greater proportion of the children of the poor go to the church day-school and to the dissenting Sabbath-school. The real reason of the success of dissenting Sabbath-schools as compared with those of the English, lies in the fact, that the organization of dissenting bodies is better adapted to *lay agency*, which is the life of the Sabbath-school, than that of the church is."*

We will mention another fact in connection with this educational census of 1851, it reveals to us that there are 318,135 teachers employed in giving instruction on the Sabbath, or, in other words, that every fifty-sixth person in England and Wales is a Sabbath-school teacher, and that there is one teacher for about every seven children, "as gratifying a circumstance as it is marvelous."

We had intended to present some minor statistics, but we have exceeded our limits. Let the following suffice:—In the Presbyterian Church of England, consisting of 88 ministers, 103 churches, and 9,500 communicants, there are 1,445 teachers, and 14,100 scholars in the Sabbath-school.

Under the care of the British Wesleyan Conference there are 4,476 Sabbath-schools, and 454,133 scholars.

Let us now turn to Ireland. In 1815, six years after the formation of the Sabbath-school Society for Ireland, with a population of ————, there were only 252 schools, with 25,000 children, under the care of the Union.

On the first of January, 1847, when the population of the country amounted to 8,175,238, the Union had under its care 2,982 schools, 245,603 scholars, and 22,720 gratuitous teachers.

In 1852 the statistics were as follows:—(the population being 6,515,794, being 1,659,444 less than in 1847—so much for the ravages of the famine,) schools 3,056, scholars 222,628, with 19,712 gratuitous teachers. Of the total number of scholars, this year, 135,048 were reported to be reading the Bible or Testament, and 53,210 to be adults above

* North British Review.

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the age of 15. Of 222,628 scholars, only 84,136 were receiving instructions in week-day schools, and it was estimated that at least 100,000 of them did not attend daily schools, and that many of them were dependent entirely on the Sabbath-school for their education.

In 1856, (population the same as in 1852,) there were 2,851 schools, containing 213,909 scholars, and 19,677 gratuitous teachers. About 100,000 of the scholars did not attend week-day schools.

From the report of this society for 1860, we learn that in the Province of Ulster, with a population of 2,004,289, there are 1,823 schools, 179,388 scholars, and 15,739 gratuitous teachers; in Leinster, with a population of 1,667,771, there are 412 schools, 29,864 scholars, and 2,928 gratuitous teachers; in Munster, with a population of 1,831,817, there are 253 schools, 12,463 scholars, and 1,410 gratuitous teachers; and in Connaught, with a population of 1,011,917, there are 198 schools, 8,953 scholars, and 796 gratuitous teachers. There are 26 Sabbath-schools in Connaught under the care of the Mission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In the aggregate, the population amounts to 6,515,794, the schools to 2,686, scholars to 230,668, and the gratuitous teachers to 20,873. Of the total number of scholars, 151,315 were reported to be reading the Bible or Testament, 69,909 to be adults above the age of 15. Returns from 2,222 schools show, that 84,703 scholars in these schools were receiving instruction in week-day schools. And taking these as the basis of calculation for the remaining 464 schools, from which no return was received, it is estimated that of 230,668 scholars, only 102,499 were receiving instruction in week-day schools, thus leaving 128,169 attending Sabbath-schools only.

The Union felt the blessed influences of the "Irish Revival" of 1859. For there were no less than 128 schools added to the roll during the year. In the Province of Ulster, where the power of the Gospel was more visibly manifested, there was an increase of 29 schools, 15,329 scholars, and 1,389 teachers.

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Modern Sabbath schools are of very recent origin in France*. It is only about nine or ten years since "the Sabbath-school idea became so far familiar and popular in France, that a small committee was organized in Paris for their introduction and improvement." Since that time, Sabbath-schools have made considerable progress, especially in the Metropolis of the Empire. It must be borne in mind that there are only "about 1600 Protestant assemblies, or authorizations for worship," in all France, a great many of which are of doubtful othodoxy. But, by the faithful, pious and devoted labors of the Monods and Grandpierres, evangelical religion has flourished greatly within the last few years. There are at present in Paris, says the *Christian Press* for June, 1860, 19 Protestant churches in full operation; 97 Protestant clergymen, and 2,500 children regularly attending Protestant Sabbath-schools.

Sabbath-schools have been established in Sweden, Denmark, Bonn, on the Rhine, and many other places on the Continent, but we know nothing of them beyond the mere fact of their existence. We have the authority of Newcombe for stating that the Minister of Instruction in Greece, issued an order, some years since, requiring all common-school masters to hold a school on the Sabbath, for instruction in the Scriptures.

In noticing the progress of Sabbath-schools in Europe, there is one fact that must not be overlooked, and that is, that the Sabbath-school gave birth to the Bible Society. It is said there did not exist any Bible Society until the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized in 1804, which had for its sole object the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, among the people generally. A society entitled the "French Bible Society," was formed in France in 1792, but it did not accomplish much and was dissolved in 1803. There had been an association also in London for several years, whose object it

* For a more extensive account of French and Parisian Sabbath-schools, see Appendix to the Forty second Report of the New York Sabbath-school Union.

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was to supply soldiers and sailors with the Scriptures. But neither of these was so wide in its range or its object as the British and Foreign Bible Society. The following circumstance led to its formation: Shortly after Sabbath-schools were established in Wales, there was a great lack of copies of the Word of God. A committee of Sabbath-school teachers was held for the purpose of devising ways and means by which Bibles might be procured for the supply of the schools. This at once suggested the idea of a Bible Society, and immediately afterwards the British and Foreign was founded. And the Bible Society, grateful for the useful suggestion, has made the Sabbath-school one of the honored instrumentalities by which its golden leaves are scattered broad-cast over the nations.

We have already exceeded our limits, and cannot trespass farther at present. We purpose, however, to give the "WESTERN CHAPTER" in a future Number, in which we hope to be able to prove that even the United States were not dependent upon Robert Raikes for the suggestion of the idea of Sabbath-schools.

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Article VIII.—The Third General Assembly.

The Third General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America met in Monmouth, Ills., Wednesday, May 15th, 1861, at 2 o'clock, P. M. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. John T. Pressly, D. D., from the text—"Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." 1 John iv. 11.

On the roll are the names of seventy-seven ministers and seventy-one ruling elders. This very noticeable reduction of the number of commissioners was in accordance with an act of the preceding Assembly, ordering the present one to be constituted on the enlarged basis of representation recommended in the proposed Book of Government and Discipline. Of the commissioners appointed only sixty-nine ministers and forty-three ruling elders appear to have been present. This, however, was quite as full an attendance as could have been expected in times of such excitement and derangement as we have had in our country this year.

The Assembly was happy in the choice of a Moderator. Rev. R. D. Harper, who was called to preside, is well known to have rare qualities for such an office; and, we doubt not, by his suavity, dignity and promptness, did much to facilitate the dispatch of business.

The reports of Presbyteries were of ordinary interest. The material facts in these reports as collated by the Committee on Narrative are as follows:—Thirty young men have been licensed, and sixteen ordained during the year; during the same time the church suffered the severe loss by death of Revs. T. H. Beveridge, J. A. Campbell, A. Murray, D. M'Lane, R. E. Stewart, J. A. Duff, I. Law, J. P. Smart,

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W. Blain, Dr. S. Irvine; in some of the Presbyteries there was believed to be a revived state of religion, but in a majority of them there were no marked indications of a general revival; meetings for prayer and religious conference had been of ordinary interest in the congregations, but were not of such a character as the Assembly should aim to have universal. Altogether, there would seem to be much need of more regular, more earnest, more self-denying devotion to every religious duty.

THE BOARDS.

The Board of Home Missions reported an apportionment to the different Presbyteries of seventy-one missionaries; special appointments for the whole year of thirty-seven; and such an apportionment of funds as would require at least $15,000 for home missionary purposes during the ensuing year. Oregon, Kansas, Minnesota, and the city of Chicago, received such special attention as to indicate a determination to occupy them as largely and effectively as possible.

There is one feature of this report of rather painful interest; it is in the large number of unsettled ministers reported.

The pastoral is the normal relation of the Christian minister. There are other relations to the church in which he may do important service, but these are exceptional. It is important to have a sufficient number of unsettled men to do missionary work proper. But where there is an undue proportion of unsettled men, and missionary service is sustained out of the general funds of the church, where, if not separately, by suitable grouping, there might be self-sustaining congregations in the enjoyment of pastoral service—where such a state of things exists, it is an element of weakness which calls for some speedy and efficient remedy. And is it not to be feared, that our church is suffering just now from such a state as this? Is not an undue proportion of our ministry dependent upon the missionary fund? Is there not a large amount of missionary service done where there might be and ought to be pastoral? We

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are glad to observe that the attention of the Assembly was turned to the necessity of remodelling our plan of Home Missions, and that a committe was appointed to report thereon at the next Assembly. And it is to be hoped, that this committee will be able to devise some remedy for the very serious evil which has been noticed.

In connection with Home Missions, it may be further noticed, that, by the adoption of various reports of the standing committee on the Board of Home Missions, the Assembly ordered a more strict compliance with its appointments by Presbyteries and missionaries, and provided for a more prompt collection and disbursement of funds for the support of missionaries. On recommendation of the same committee, special attention was directed to the Jews in our land, and a committee, previously appointed, was directed to continue their inquiries in respect to the best means of reaching and influencing the Jews, and, in the meantime, to disseminate, as far as possible, such Christian literature as would be likely to benefit them. And in answer to a communication from the Secretary of the *American and Foreign Christian Union*, the operations of that society were commended to the liberality of the church, and the Board of Foreign Missions was directed to take into consideration the request of the society for two of our ministers to be employed under its auspices in South America or Mexico.

The Board of Foreign Missions made a long and most interesting report of operations and events in its department during the last year. We cannot give our readers a satisfactory view of this part of the church's work, without quoting largely from the report, which we do:—

Receipts and Expenditures.—Under a strong impression that God was calling our church to a great work in the Foreign field, and that the churches, if properly appealed to, would furnish the means for carrying it on, the Board of Foreign Missions asked the Assembly, at its last meeting, for $20,560 to meet the estimates for existing expenses, and those also of new missionaries to go out, during the ensuing year. The appeal was made, and it is a matter of devout thanksgiving this day that it has been so responded to, that all the appropriations would have been promptly and fully met, but for unexpected drafts on the

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Treasury to meet the expenses of returning missionaries, and by which the Board is now left in debt to the India Mission about $2000. During the financial year ending with April 30th, 1861, the Treasurer received from all sources, including moneys for the Syrian sufferers, and for the Building Fund, $21,274 68, and paid out by remittances to the Missionaries, and on orders signed by the President and Secretary of the Board, $20,464 26; leaving a balance of $810 42 in the Treasury. This pleasing fact has greatly encouraged the Board to believe that our churches, as a whole, are deeply interested in the cause of Missions, and that there will be no lack of sympathy and effort in them on its behalf.

Operations.—In Syria, at the last meeting of the Assembly, we had a promising Mission in operation at Damascus, and stations at Nebk and Yabrud. On the 20th of May, however, an unexpected and disastrous war broke out on Mount Lebanon, and thence extended over the country until hundreds of villages were laid waste, thousands of lives destroyed, and several of the most prosperous Missions of evangelical Boards and churches were well nigh or utterly broken up. At length, on the 9th of July, Damascus itself became the theatre of a terrible scene of bloodshed and desolation. The premises, libraries, school books, and apparatus of our Mission were mostly destroyed, the missionaries were made to flee for their lives, the religious services entirely suspended, and the schools disbanded. From Yabrud the missionary (Rev. John Crawford) and his family were compelled to remove, but with a noble devotion to his work, under trying circumstances, he fixed himself at Beirut, and has been, and still is, very useful there in administering to the bodily and spiritual wants of the members of our Mission church in Damascus, who had been forced to fly from their houses bereft of their all. He waits there an opportunity of returning and renewing his Mission work in that ancient city. At Nebk, Gibran Shehady, a native teacher of piety and talent, has been generally permitted, as far as his health would allow, to prosecute his work in the Mission school, and, it is belied, good has been done. The Board have hope, that, under the persevering endeavors of Mr. Crawford and his associate, (Rev. Smylie Robson, of the Irish Mission in Syria,) some indemnity may yet be obtained from the Government for the losses we have sustained—amounting, it is supposed, to nearly $4000—and that ere long the way will be opened up for a resumption of our labors. In the meantime, the Board affectionately commend our brethren of the Mission church in Damascus, desolated and scattered as they are, to the sympathies and prayers of the whole church.

In Trinidad, the Mission enjoyed, during the early part of the year, the labors of the Rev. George Brown, but we regret to inform the Assembly, that early in the last Autumn, he was laid aside for some time by a violent fever, and was at length forced to leave the island, and thus retire from our service. The Board cordially bear testimony to his desires and efforts to do good, and are deeply pained that we have not

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been able to respond to the call which he has repeatedly pressed upon us for some one to take his place in cultivating a field, where, as a church, we have a good foundation laid, and a great and effectual door of usefulness opened up. The Rev. George Brodie, of Port of Spain, has laid us under many obligations by his generous occasional supply of this Mission's wants. The Board cannot refrain from earnestly urging the Assembly to make an immediate appointment of some one, or to authorize the Board to do so, to engage as a preacher or catechist in that early and still interesting Mission of our church.

In China, God has continued to open more and more widely a field in every sense apparently white for the harvest. With a truly devoted and zealous spirit, the Rev. J. C. Nevin, our first, and, we are pained to say, our only missionary yet, in that vast empire, has been steadily engaged in preparing himself for his great work. Again and again he has appealed for one or more persons to be sent out as co-laborers with him, and as earnestly have the Board prayed and sought to respond to his appeal. While, for reasons that were deemed sufficient, the Assembly, at the last meeting, changed the appointment of one who was originally designated to that field, it was then, and is still, a source of painful regret to the Board that the Assembly did not immediately appoint some suitable person to take his place, or authorize the Board to do it. As neither of these things, however, was done, the Board could not send out any one during the year. But now, as deeply impressed as ever with the importance of that Mission, the Board most earnestly ask the Assembly to take a decided course in regard to it, and in view of the importance of the field, and of all the circumstances of the case, not to rise until a suitable man and the adequate means are secured for its vigorous prosecution. Herewith the Board lay before the Assembly a recent document from Mr. Nevin, on the subject of Chinese Missions, and invite special attention to it.

In Northern India, the work has been steadily prosecuted at Sealkote. Preaching has been regularly maintained, and the labors in the schools have been continued with encouraging success. In view of the wide field around them, and of the vast numbers of souls sitting in darkness and having no saving light, the brethren of this Mission have earnestly besought the Board to give the authority and the means for forming a second Mission at a place about thirty miles distant from Sealkote, and in the midst of a crowded population. The Board have been much impressed with the force of their appeals, and if there could be any ground upon which the adequate means for a new Mission could be expected, as they would be imperatively called for, the Board would gladly authorize the work, and confidently look for the happiest results. But, in view of the present state of our country, and of the signs of the times, the Board do not deem it expedient to do so without some special direction of the Assembly.

In Egypt, the work has been prosecuted without interruption. In

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Cairo and Alexandria, divine service has been regularly held in English and Arabic every Sabbath. Both the boys' and girls' schools have been in thorough operation. In Alexandria, these schools have numbered nearly two hundred young persons, and the Scriptures have formed a very prominent part of the daily instructions. Many Jewesses are found in the girls' school, and many Moslems in the boys' school, earnest and interested learners of the New Testament, and of Bible truth. Through the want of regular teachers, the schools in Cairo have not been as numerously attended, but arrangements are now making for greatly increasing their efficiency and usefulness. Besides preaching and teaching, the brethren of the Egyptian Mission have done much during the year in distributing the Holy Scriptures. In both Cairo and Alexandria, a Bible depot has been opened under their care, and thence the Word of God is widely scattered abroad. Led also by the special indications of Divine Providence, they have entered upon the work of passing up the Nile and supplying the large population spread out in its valley with the Scriptures. With a truly noble spirit of zeal and liberality, our brethren have united in the purchase of a boat out of their own limited means for the sole purpose of carrying on this work; and already, within nine months since they engaged in it, they believe they have realized, in the good done, a rich return for all their expenditure and their toil, Thus far their labors of this kind have extended as far up the Nile as Esneh or Assaam on the borders of Nubia. In some places, as at Thebes and Esneh, they have had preaching; at Osiout and Luxor they have opened schools; in the vicinity of Minyeh, Osiout, Kineh, and perhaps in Esneh, they have appointed agents to act as colporteurs; and in all of these, and some other places, they have distributed more or less of Bibles. The Board commend the zeal of our brethren in the prosecution of their work, and congratulate our church in being called of God to the honor of being the only church now thoroughly engaged in supplying the land of Egypt with the Word of God. The kindness of the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies, in granting our brethren the Holy Scriptures and other material aid for this service. deserves the special gratitude of the Assembly, and of our whole church.

Changes.—On the 5th of July, the Rev. James A. Frazier, who had been for many years laboriously engaged in the service of the Mission in Damascus, was forced, under painful ciscumstances, to flee with his family from that city. Scarcely had they arrived at a place of safety when word reached them of the fearful outbreak and massacre in Damascus, the destruction of his house and property, and the temporary breaking up of the Mission. In the trying state of his family, and of the times, it was felt by his brethren and himself to be his duty to return to this country, and accordingly he is now here waiting the leadings of Divine Providence.

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At the same time, Dr. Alexander Hattie, who had been employed as the physician of the Mission in Damascus, left the field of his labors, and subsequently tendering his resignation, he was released from our service, and has no longer any connection with us.

In the month of March last, also, the Rev. Thomas M'Cague and family were constrained by painful necessity to relinquish their missionary labors in the city of Cairo, and seek for a restoration of health in their native land. The enervating character of the climate, and the unremitting and wearying labors of many years in their particular part of Egypt, gradually undermined their health and seriously threatened their lives. By the positive injunction of their physician, therefore, and the unanimous advice of their Presbytery, they left. A merciful Providence brought them in safety to our shores, and there are already indications of an early renewal of their health and strength. On finally reaching his home, Mr. M'Cague will, at his own request, cease to be under the pay of the Board, and will cordially be at the call of any portion of the church that may desire his services—it being understood that he will receive proper remuneration for any expenses to which he may be subjected. He also will carefully study the indications of the Divine will as to his duty hereafter to the land of Egypt.

New Missionaries.—According to the appointment of the Assembly, the Rev. S. C. Ewing and wife, and Miss M. J. McKown, have entered upon their work during the year. On the 6th of October last, they sailed from New York, and on reaching Egypt, Mr. Ewing proceeded with his family at once to Cairo, and promptly engaged in preaching as opportunity offered in the English language, and in studying Arabic for his future usefulness. Miss McKown remained in Alexandria, and immediately entered upon her work in the girls' school. This she was able to do with encouraging prospects from her very arrival, as there are many persons in the school capable of receiving instruction in her native tongue, and in the rudiments of the French.

Messrs. Andrew Watson and James S. Barr, not having completed their allotted course of study, and not being able to leave for the fields to which they were respectively appointed by the Assembly, are still in this country, and the Board are happy to inform the Assembly, are ready to be sent out at the earliest moment it may be deemed proper for them to depart. During the winter they have sought to increase their fitness for greater usefulness by attending the Lectures of the Pennsylvania Medical College, in the city of Philadelphia—a privilege that was generously granted them by the Faculty of that institution free of charge.

Estimates.—As far as the Board are able to ascertain it is believed the following sums will be required, as the lowest possible estimate, to enable us to carry on the operations of the ensuing year, viz;—For India, about $7,500; for China, $2,500; for Egypt, including the Missions

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in Alexandria, Cairo, and up the Valley of the Nile, $8,750; for Syria, $1,200; for Trinidad, in case a missionary is sent out, $900—making a total of about $23,200, including the balance due the India Mission of $2,000, and an allowance to them for aid in consequence of the present famine of $300.

The following resolutions reported by the standing committee on the Board of Foreign Missions, and adopted by the Assembly, embody the final action on this subject. A separate resolution was afterwards offered and adopted, expressing unabated interest in the China mission, but not directing any different action from that recommended in the first of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, 1st. That in view of the embarrassed condition of our finances and the troubled state of our country, it would not be expedient at present, to reinforce the Mission in China; but, should the funds be provided before the meeting of the next General Assembly, the Board of Foreign Missions be authorized to send out such missionary as they may deem qualified to labor in that field.

Resolved, 2d. That the Board be directed to send out Messrs. Andrew Watson, and Jas. S. Barr, to their respective fields of labor, as designated by the last Assembly, (viz., Mr. Watson, to Egypt, and Mr. Barr to Northern India,) at as early a period as practicable, and that collections be taken in all our Churches on the 1st Sabbath of July, or as soon afterwards as practicable, to furnish the necessary funds.

Resolved 3d. That the subject of appointing a missionary to Trinidad in place of Mr. Brown, be left discretionary with the Board of Foreign Missions.

The Board of Publication submitted a report, from which we make the following extracts, sufficient to show what has been done in the work committed to this Board, and the means at its command. The Board say:—

"We are sorry that we cannot report much done through the year in the way of publishing. There has been a considerable increase to our permanent fund, but not any more than we found necessary to keep pace with our increase of business, demanding a proportionate increase of capital—so that at no time through the year have we found the state of our funds such that we could safely undertake the publishing of a single book without running the risk of becoming embarrassed. Besides this, a large portion of our funds have been donated with the understanding that they are finally to be used for a specific purpose differ-

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ent from the general publication of books. This will appear from the following statement, which is necessary in order to understand the character of our permanent fund. In our last report given in to the Assembly, May, 1860, it was stated that this fund then amounted to $3,103 99. To this there has been added by contributions from congregations and individuals through the year $3,174 21, making a sum total of $6,278 20—but of this sum $3,000 have been contributed by one liberal-minded individual, and although he is willing that it should be employed as at present in carrying on the business of the Depository, yet, when that business will permit, it is his wish that it be used in stereotyping and publishing the Holy Scriptures, with the Psalms in Metre, and in this laudable wish he certainly should be gratified.

"From this it will be seen that even when we include the sum borrowed at our commencement from the Book Concern of the Associate Synod, the whole amount contributed to our permanent fund during the two years of our existence is but $2,978 20—a sum totally inadequate to warrant us in undertaking the work of Publication to any extent. All, therefore, that we have done through the year is to publish the revised Psalm Book ordered by the last Assembly, and an edition of the Shorter Catechism, with Scripture proofs. We have contracted for editions of a few other Books, which we expect to get out early the coming year.

"The business of the Depository has continued steadily to increase. Our sales since the 15th of May last, that is for eleven and a half months, have amounted to $8,282 06. We have not only conducted the business without expense, but it will be seen from the statement in the annexed paper that a small balance remains at the end of the year, after paying all expenses.

"We have collected from different societies and publishing houses in this country and Britain a large selection of books suitable for Sabbath-schools, and from the number of libraries we have been called upon to make up, we would judge that the Church is beginning to appreciate the value of a Depository, where all good books may be obtained, and where they are safe from that pernicious class consisting of religious fiction, secular matter, and defective theology, which constitute such a large proportion of the Sabbath-school literature of the present day, and which is exerting such a deleterious influence upon the rising generation.

"But however important the supply of Sabbath-schools and families with religious reading may be, until the Church place in our hands a sufficiency to commence and carry on the work of publication, we regard the leading objects of our organization unaccomplished."

There is no other Board of the church more entitled to her fostering care than this one. The good it may do is various, but too obvious to every thoughtful mind to need

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detail. It is an agency that may be made to act most happily on every interest of the church; especially for the maintenance of truth and the animation of the hearts of our people with a becoming interest in all our active operations for Education, Church Extension, and missions Domestic and Foreign. And it is all-important this Board be speedily put in possession of the means of doing its work more extensively and vigorously.

Among the resolutions of the committee which took charge of the report of this Board we notice those directing it to secure the records of the Associate, Associate Reformed, and U. P. Churches; to arrange, and publish, as means may be had, so much of these records as may be of general utility; and to collect all the material that can be obtained for a complete history of the United Presbyterian Church. These resolutions were adopted by the Assembly, and, we trust, will receive due attention from the Board.

The Board of Education reported that its attention had been almost exclusively directed to aiding young men in their education for the ministry; that aid had been granted to sixteen young men to an aggregate amount of $1,400; and that at least $2,500 ought to be raised for its fund for the next year. It also reported a revision of its regulations and this important suggestion:—"Much valuable information might be communicated to the church, were the various academies, colleges, and seminaries, under the care of our Presbyteries and Synods, required to report annually to the Board, as to their history, condition, and prospects, and the Board directed to embody this information in a condensed form in their annual report."

The Committee on this Board reported a preamble and series of resolutions, which were adopted by the Assembly, and which, if they receive the due attention of Synods, Presbyteries, and congregations, will do much to awaken a more lively interest in this cause throughout the church.

The Board of Church Extension reported that the contributions to its fund had been but from a few congregations

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and was far short of the amount needed and asked for in a previous report, to carry on its operations advantageously. The whole amount received was short of $1,000. The interests entrusted to this Board are surely not appreciated by the church; if they were, there would be a more general and liberal contribution of the needed funds.

The Committee on this Board recommended that each pastor be requested to bring the claims of this interest of the church before his people, and that the Board itself be requested to issue an address for the same purpose.

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

The Committee on Bills and Overtures submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted in respect to the report of the committee to prepare an *amended version of the Psalms*:—

Resolved, 1. That we highly approve of the labors of this committee, and hereby send their amended version in overture to the Presbyteries under their care.

Resolved, 2. That in reporting on this overture, the Presbyteries are instructed to report to the next General Assembly, first, on the overture, ay or no; second, that should any Presbytery have objections to the amended version, they shall specify particularly to the General Assembly the grounds of their objection, and should they desire any amendments or alterations, they shall make them in their own language.

Resolved, 3. That Presbyteries having objections or desiring alterations or amendments, shall communicate them to the committee on an improved version of the Psalms, (directed to the care of Rev. Dr. Rodgers, Pittsburg, Pa.,) before the first of February, 1862; and that the committee be directed to take such suggestions into their careful consideration, and embody such as meet their approbation into their report in full, to the next General Assembly for adoption, should the Assembly approve them.

This action had reference simply to verbal amendments of the old version. Another committee had been appointed to prepare a *new version*. This committee reported in part; and on its report the Committee on Bills and Overtures submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, 1st. That the new and improved version of a portion of

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the Book of Psalms prepared by the Committee appointed by the General Assembly of 1860 be overtured to the Presbyteries under our care.

Resolved, 2d. That Presbyteries be instructed to examine it carefully, and report to the next General Assembly.

On a memorial from the Presbytery of Philadelphia in relation to the formation of matrimonial connections, by professors of religion, with irreligious persons, the Committee on Bills and Overtures submitted a report, closing with the following resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That it is the duty of parents to counsel and warn their children against the formation of such matrimonal connections, and that ministers of the gospel should show from the Scriptures their dangerous tendency, with a diligence proportioned to the danger to which young people are exposed from the social influences with which they are surrounded.

On a memorial from members of Calcutta congregation, who had inherited money partially derived from the sale of slaves, and through their session asked direction as to its use, the same committee very wisely reported, "that the United Presbyterian Church has never directly legislated upon this question, and it is unwise to multiply enactments on questions of little importance, and rarely occuring in the actual practice of the church." But as the liberation of the slaves could not be effected, and as the persons making the inquiry were in doubt of their right to use the money received for personal benefit, and as it is important to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man, the case was disposed of by the adoption of the folling resolution with which the committee closed its report:—

Resolved, That those members of Calcutta congregation, who have received money derived from the sale of slaves, be directed to devote it according to their best judgments to the benefit of the colored race.

The Judicial Committee appears to have had the consideration of but a single case; but one of the most delicate and important that came before this Assembly—that of the Presbytery of Sealkote and Rev. R. A. Hill. From all that

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appears in the minutes of the Assembly we may not be able to judge rightly of the nature of this case. Mr. Hill appears to have been virtually suspended by his Presbytery on the charge of irregularities in respect to Psalmody and Communion. His case had been before the Board of Foreign Missions. Its judgment in the matter had been expressed in the following resolutions:—

Resolved, 1. That the board have heard, with great surprise, and deep regret, the action of the Sealkote Presbytery in this matter.

Resolved, 2. That without expressing any opinion, as to the merits of the question at issue between the Presbytery and Mr. Hill, the Board as far as can be seen from the reported proceedings of the Presbytery in this matter, deem the final action as unwarranted by the standards of our church, both as to the form which said action assumed, and the grounds on which it was based.

Resolved, 3. That without assuming any authority, over the Presbytery as such, this Board earnestly recommend and beseech those brethren, as missionaries under the care of this Board, to reconsider their action in the matter.

The case came before the Assembly by a memoral of Mr. Hill and the report of the Presbytery of Sealkote. All the papers connected with the case were referred to the Judicial Committee. This committee submitted a report approving the action of the Board of Foreign Missions, and recommending still more strongly and in more detail a change of action by the Presbytery. For this report a substitute was adopted, closing with the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That without expressing any opinion as to the view of the Rev. R. A. Hill, on the question for which he was suspended by the Presbytery of Sealkote, this Assembly deem the action of said Presbytery in suspending Mr. Hill, when he had declared that he would not agitate the question, or preach, or teach, contrary to the principles of the U. P. Church, so long as he remained in her connection, as irregular and unwarrantable, and therefore, that the suspension should be removed.

Resolved, 2. That the Assembly direct the said Presbytery to furnish the Rev. R. A. Hill, at his request, with an attested copy of their whole minutes in this case.

Resolved, 3. That the Assembly recommend the Presbytery in case Rev. R. A. Hill should come to the conclusion that it is his duty to

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unite with another branch of the church, to take no further action in his case than to strike his name from their roll

Resolved, 4. That this Assembly is not prepared to express any opinion as to the charges made against Mr. Hill, subsequent to the 10th of April, which charges the Presbytery expressly declare are not mentioned in their final action as *proved*, but as charges to which he was *liable*.

Resolved, 5. That should Mr. Hill continue as a member of the Presbytery of Sealkote, he be specially enjoined to pursue the things that make for peace.

Resolved, 6. That this action of the General Assembly shall not be construed as giving any countenance to unrestricted communion.

This case appears to have elicited a good deal of discussion, and the decision of it was so unsatisfactory to a respectable number of members as to cause them to enter their dissent on the minutes. There may have been some aggravations connected with the case, known to individuals, which were not known to the entire Assembly, or there may have been some utterances on the floor of the Assembly to account for the feeling of the brethren who dissented; but, so far as the case was in form before the Assembly, we cannot see how its action could have been materially different. Whatever irregularities there may have been on the part of Mr. Hill, there was evident irregularity in the process by which his Presbytery was led to his suspension. Besides, it is questionable whether the charge was relevant under our law of forbearance. Even here, in our own country, where our distinctive principles are forced into more prominence than is needed, or would be proper in a heathen land, a man who might not be prepared to approve some things in our Testimony would be undisturbed in his ecclesiastical relations if he would not "agitate, teach, or preach" different views, as Mr. Hill appears to have promised. And whatever reasons there may be for such forbearance at home, they are ten-fold stronger in missionary work among the heathen.

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BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, AND DIRECTORY FOR WORSHIP.

The draft of a Book of Discipline which had been in overture, and of which some of the Presbyteries asked various amendments, was, with the reports of Presbyteries thereon, and any amendments of Presbyteries or of individuals which may be sent in by the first of November, referred to a select committee to mature and publish the work. Thus matured and published, it was to be again in overture to the Presbyteries, to be reported on, ay or no, to the next General Assembly.

The Directory for Worship, which had also been in overture, and also objectionable to some of the Presbyteries, was recommitted, with instructions to the same effect as those given in respect to the Book of Discipline.

The action in respect to both of these overtures was wise. There was no particular urgency for a final adoption of either of them. And whatever improvements may be needed in the one or the other, can be made now much more easily, and at much less peril to the peace of the church, than at any future time. Let these parts of our Standards be as perfect as possible before they are adopted.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

A was to be expected, this subject received early and earnest attention of the Assembly. Its final action was in the unanimous adoption of a well-conceived and admirably-arranged report, recognizing the varied and terrible evils under which, as a nation, we are now suffering, recognizing the hand of God in their infliction, and confessing the sins by which we have justly incurred his righteous displeasure. Among the latter the report details:—

1. Pride and self-sufficiency; glorying in our supposed wisdom and greatness.
2. Inordinate and accessive ambition.
3. Contempt of the unspeakable grace of God in Christ, for which Bethsaida and Chorazin were doomed to wo, and Jerusalem was made an utter desolation.

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4. Sabbath desecration.

5. Obstinacy and incorrigibleness under former providential rebukes. We have been visited with drought and partial famine—with pestilence and malignant diseases—but we have not heard the rod. We have not returned to the Lord; and, therefore, his hand is laid more heavily upon us.

6. Slaveholding, the great and immediate cause of the present trouble, though seldom thought of as an evil by those who are directly concerned in it. Slavery must be exceedingly flagrant in the sight of the Great Parent and Ruler of men. If it is murder, the blackest of crimes, to violate the image of God enstamped on man, what is it to debase and trample on that image, and treat it as a brutual thing? To tear asunder the tender ties of nature and affection—what is it but horrible cruelty? To work a man, and give him no wages, or no sufficient wages, is nothing but robbery and oppression. To forbid the great God to speak to his own creatures, that they may be saved, is bidding defiance to the very heavens. To deprive a people of the ordinance and privileges of marriage, is to keep them in beastly concubinage. It should not be thought that we, in the Free States, have nothing to do with this monstrous iniquity. Have we not countenanced those who practised it? Have we not contributed to extend and establish and fortify it? Paul was guilty of the murder of Stephen, though he did not cast a single stone. With regard to the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, it is to be feared that they also have had cause to complain of injustice and cruel rapacity.

In view of these things the Assembly, on recommendation of the committee, ordered a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to be observed by its own people; and arranged to have the subject called to the attention of the President of the United States, that through his call the observance might be made general.

Altogether the proceedings of this Assembly were of a nature to command the respect of the church. The usual amount of business was transacted with more than ordinary dispatch, and, except in the judicial case noticed, with entire harmony. The entire action, viewed in connection with the proceedings of former Assemblies, shows the United Church to be moving on in becoming devotion to her proper work. In this she has the best assurance of peace and prosperity. The three years past may be regarded as the most critical of her history. She has been passing through what has been not inaptly designated, "the process of unition." This

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process, it may be, is not yet perfected, but it is progressing hopefully. But some care is still needed. There is one danger, to which it may not be improper to advert, that it may be watched. It is well known that the articles of our union were not entirely satisfactory to all who entered into it. To some individuals some of the articles appeared too stringent; to others they did not appear stringent enough. Now, it is perfectly natural, that the brethren of either extreme should desire to see the United Church assume the peculiarities which they thought she ought to have assumed at first. It is natural that they should be disposed to act themselves, and have her act, in accordance with their peculiar views. And the danger is, that the peace and harmony of the church may be disturbed, not only by the separate acting of these extremes, but by their reäcting upon each other. Possibly something has been suffered from this source of trouble already. We should be careful not to allow ourselves to be unduly swerved to the one side or the other; but to stand firmly on the basis of our union as it was adopted, and maintain its doctrines, and administer its order, in the spirit and to the intent for which it was adopted—never losing sight of the inscription on our banner:—THE TRUTH OF GOD: FORBEARANCE IN LOVE.

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SHORT NOTICES.

I. THE PULPIT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION; Or the Political Sermons of 1776, with an Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Wingate Thornton, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. 12mo., pp. 537.

We relish a book of this kind exceedingly. It is the product of extraordinary men in an extraordinary age. The American mind, during the period in which these discourses were preached, was excited, was at a white heat. The soul of New England was poured into such productions. No people were more favorably situated for obtaining clear views of civil and religious rights than the Americans during the last half of the eighteenth century. Coming to this country with the most advanced and enligntened opinions on these subjects, and having been continually forced to the discussion of them, it is not strange that the discourses, both of their theologians and statesmen should contain masterly exhibitions of doctrines of universal and permanent importance, as well as interesting illustrations of the history of that remarkable era. Those men were not insensible of the responsibilities that rested upon them. They felt that they were contending not for the liberties of America only, but for the liberties of the world itself.

The dates and the leading contents of these are as follows: —I. A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers: With some Reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I., and on the Anniversary of his Death: In which the mysterious doctrine of that Prince's Saintship and Martyrdom is unriddled.

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By Jonathan Mahew, A. M. Boston. 1750. II. Thanksgiving Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766:—The News of the Repeal—Reasons for Rejoicing and Thanksgiving—The Proper Use to be made of the Good News. By Dr. Charles Chauncey. Boston. 1766. III. An Election Sermon: Civil Government is for the good of the People—The Character of good Rulers, and the Duties of the Citizens. By Samuel Cooke. Boston. 1770. IV. Thanksgiving Sermon:—The Christian Duty of Resistance to Tyrants—Prepare for War—Appeal to Heaven. By William Gordon. Boston. 1774. V. Election Sermon at Watertown:—The Right of Self-Government is from God—The Divine Right of Kings exploded. By Dr. S. Langdon. 1775. VI. Election Sermon:—The True Principles of Self-Government—The Magistrate's Authority—Arbitrary Power subversive of the Design of Civil Polity—Obedience to the Will of God. By Samuel West. 1776. VII. Election Sermon:—Popular Government—The True Spirit of Liberty—Requisites to a Free Government—Its Dangers—The Responsibilities of Rulers and Citizens. By Phillip Payson. Boston. 1778. VIII. Election Sermon:—The Necessity of Civil Government to the Happiness of Mankind—The Right of the People to Choose their own Rulers—The Duties and Qualifications of Christian Rulers. By Simeon Howard. Boston. 1780. IX. Election Sermon:—The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor. By Dr. Ezra Stiles. New Haven. 1783.

In these discourses will be found the prevailing thoughts and emotions of the days of the Revolution. Mr. Thornton's historical introduction gives many interesting facts of the times, and his biographical sketches of the preachers with numerous illustrative notes to the sermons are very valuable. He displays a bitterness towards Episcopalians which we cannot altogether appreciate, though perhaps we are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of their conduct. Mr. Thornton also seems to us unduly to exalt New Englanders. Their heroism, intelligence, piety and love of liberty are unquestionable; but there were many outside of New England whose character is as illustrious as that of the

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Congregationalists of the North. The Huguenots and the Scotch-Irish, for example, though not so numerous as the New Englanders, were second to none in revolutionary times. The descendants of the New England Puritans have outstripped all others in keeping fresh the memory of illustrious fathers, and it is hardly strange that they should be prone to over-estimate the character and the deeds of men whose praises are sounded continually.

The "Election Sermon" is a New England peculiarity of which some of our readers may wish a brief account. In the charter of "the Governor and *companie* of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" provision was made that "one governor, one deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, and all other officers of the said companie" should be chosen in "their general court, or assemblie" on "the last Wednesday in Easter Terme, yearely, for the yeare ensuing." About the year 1633 the governor and his assistants began to appoint one to preach on the day of election, and this was the first of the famous "Election Sermons." The same custom was observed and perhaps still is in some other New England States. In Massachusetts an Election Sermon is to this day annually delivered before the Legislature, the preacher having been previously chosen by that body. A similar custom is also there kept up called the "Artillery Sermon," a discourse preached before certain military companies on the day of their annual election of officers. These "Election Sermons" always had a politico-religious cast, and no doubt had great influence on the State. Thus in early days these Puritans were accustomed to associate religion with civil affairs. They "began their civil year and its responsibilities with an appeal to Heaven, and recognized *Christian morality as the only basis of good laws.*" Religion was their first great design. Higginson observed in an Election Sermon, "if any man among us make religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, such an one hath not the spirit of a true New England man."

The reader will perceive that this volume is one of much historical interest and permanent value. The book cannot fail to kindle the old revolutionary fire in every reader who

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loves liberty. We make one or two extracts from President Stile's sermon on "The United States Exalted to Glory and Honor." The pain of separation from the mother country is expressed in the following terms:

"We may find it a wise policy, a few years hence, under certain exceptions, to settle an amnesty and circulate a brotherly affection among all the inhabitants of this glorious republic. We should live henceforward in unity, as brothers inspired with and cultivating a certain national benevolence, unitedly glorying in the name of a Columbia or America, and in the distinguished honor and aggrandizement of our country;—like that ancient national affection which we once had for the parent state while we gloried in being a part of the British empire, and when our attachment grew to an unexampled vigor and strength. This appeared in the tender distress we felt at the first thoughts of the dissolution of this ancient friendship. We once thought Britain our friend and gloried in her protection. But some demon whispered folly into the present reign, and Britain forced upon America the tremendous alternative of the loss of liberty or the last appeal, either of which instantly alienated and dissolved our affection. It was impossible to hesitate, and the affection is dissolved, never, never more to be recovered; like that between Syracuse and Athens it is lost forever. A political earthquake through the continent hath shook off America from Great Britain. Oh! how painful and distressing the separation and dismemberment! Witness, all ye patriotic breasts, all ye lovers of your country, once lovers of Great Britain—witness the tender sensations and heart-felt violence, the reluctant distress and sorrow with which ye were penetrated, when, spurned from a parent's love, ye felt the conviction of the dire necessity of an everlasting parting to meet no more—never to be united again!

O, England! how did I once love thee! how did I once glory in thee! how did I once boast of springing from thy bowels, though at four descents ago, and the nineteenth from Sir Adam of Knapton! In the rapturous anticipation of thine enlargement and re-flourishing in this western world, how have I been wont to glory in the future honor of having thee for the head of the Britanico-American empire for the many ages till the millenium, when thy great national glory should have been advanced in then becoming a member of the universal empire of the Prince of Peace! And if perchance in some future period danger should have

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arisen to thee from European states, how have I flown on the wings of prophecy, with the numerous hardy hosts of thine American sons, inheriting thine ancient principles of liberty and valor, to rescue and re-enthrone the hoary, venerable head of the most glorious empire on earth! But now, farewell—a long farewell to all this greatness. And yet even now, methinks, in such an exigency I could leap the Atlantic, not into thy bosom, but to rescue an aged parent from destruction, and then return on the wings of triumph to this asylum of the world, and rest in the bosom of Liberty."

The following passages, in which Dr. Stiles gratefully recognizes the hand of God in our revolutionary struggle, is timely, now that our liberties are again imperilled:—

"While oppressed by the heavy weight of this combined force, Heaven inspired us with resolution to cut the gordian knot, when the die was cast irrevocable in the glorious act of Independence. This was sealed and confirmed by God Almighty in the victory of General Washington at Trenton, and in the surprising movement and battle of Princeton, by which astonishing effort of generalship General Howe and the whole British army, in elated confidence, and in open-mouthed march for Philadelphia, was instantly stopped, remanded back, and cooped up for a shivering winter in the little borough of Brunswick. Thus God 'turned the battle to the gate,' and this gave a finishing to the foundation of the American republic. This, with the Burgoynade at Saratoga by General Gates, and the glorious victory over the Earl of Cornwallis, in Virginia, together with the memorable victory of Eutaw Springs, and the triumphant recovery of the southern States by General Greene, are among the most heroic acts and brilliant achievements which have decided the fate of America. And who does not see the indubitable interposition and energetic influences of Divine Providence in these great and illustrious events? Who but a Washington, inspired by Heaven, could have struck out the great movement and manœuvre at Princeton? To whom but the Ruler of the winds shall we ascribe it that the British reënforcement, in the summer of 1777, was delayed on the ocean three months by contrary winds, until it was too late for the conflagrating General Clinton to raise the siege of Saratoga? What but a providential miracle detected the conspiracy of Arnold, even in the critical moment of the execution of that infernal plot in which the body of the American army, then at West Point, with his

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Excellency General Washington himself, were to have been rendered into the hands of the enemy? Doubtless inspired by the Supreme Illuminator of great minds, were the joint counsels of a Washington and a Rochambeau in that grand effort of generalship with which they deceived and astonished a Clinton, and eluded his vigilance, in their transit by New York and rapid marches for Virginia. Was it not of God that both navy and army should enter the Chesapeake at the same time? Who but God could have ordained the critical arrival of the Gallic fleet, so as to prevent and defeat the British, and assist and coöperate with the combined armies in the siege and reduction of Yorktown? Should we not ever admire and ascribe to a Supreme Energy the wise and firm generalship displayed by General Greene when, leaving the active, roving Cornwallis to pursue his helter-skelter, ill-fated march into Virginia, he coolly and steadily went onwards, and deliberately, judiciously, and heroically recovered the Carolinas and the southern States?

"How rare have been the defections and apostasies of our capital characters, though tempted with all the charms of gold, titles, and nobility? Whence is it that so few of our army have deserted to the enemy?—Whence that our brave sailors have chosen the horrors of prison-ships, and death, rather than to fight against their country?—Whence that men of every rank have so generally felt and spoken alike, as if the chords of life struck unison through the continent? What but a miracle has preserved the union of the States, the purity of Congress, and the unshaken patriotism of every General Assembly? It is God, who has raised up for us a great and powerful ally,—an ally which sent us a chosen army and a naval force; who sent us a Rochambeau and a Chastelleux, and other characters of the first military merit and eminence, to fight side by side with a Washington and a Lincoln, and the intrepid Americans in the siege and battle of Yorktown. It is God who so ordered the balancing interests of nations as to produce an irresistable motive in the European maritime powers to take our part. Hence the recognition of our independence by Spain and Holland, as well as France. * * * * *

"But the time would fail me to recount the wonder-working providence of God in the events of this war. Let these serve as a specimen, and lead us to hope that God will not forsake this people for whom he has done such marvellous things—whereof we are glad and rejoice this day—having at length brought us to the dawn of peace. O Peace, thou welcome guest, all hail! Thou heavenly visitant, calm the

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tumult of nations, and wave thy balmy wing to perpetuity over this region of liberty! Let there be a tranquil period for the unmolested accomplishment of the *Magnalia Dei*—the great events in God's moral government designed from eternal ages to be displayed in these ends of the earth:

The following graceful tribute to Washington receives fresh interest from the times in which we live:—

"O Washington! how do I love thy name! How often have I adored and blessed thy God for creating and forming thee the great ornament of human kind. Upheld and protected by the Omnipotent, by the Lord of Hosts, thou hast been sustained and carried through one of the most arduous and most important wars in all history. The world and posterity will with admiration contemplate thy deliberate, cool and stable judgment, thy virtues, thy valor, and heroic achievements, as far surpassing those of a Cyrus, whom the world loved and adored. The sound of thy fame shall go out into all the earth, and extend to distant ages. Thou hast convinced the world of the beauty of virtue; for in thee this beauty shines with distinguished lustre. Those who would not recognize any beauty in virtue in the world beside, will yet reverence it in thee. There is a glory in thy disinterested benevolence which the greatest characters would purchase, if possible, at the expense of worlds, and which may excite indeed their emulation, but cannot be felt by the venal great, who think everything, even virtue and true glory, may be bought and sold, and trace our every action to motives terminating in self,—

> Find virtue local, all relation scorn;
> See all in self, and but for self be born.

But thou, O Washington! forgettest thyself when thou lovedst thy bleeding country. Not all the gold of Ophir, nor a world filled with rubies and diamonds, could effect or purchase the sublime and noble feelings of thine heart in that single self-moved act, when thou renouncedst the rewards of generalship, and heroically tookest upon thyself the dangerous, as well as arduous, office of generalissimo, and this at a solemn moment, when thou didst deliberately cast the die for the dubious—the very dubious—alternative of a gibbet or a triumphal arch. But, beloved, enshielded, and blessed by a great Melchisedec,—the King of righteousness as well as peace,—thou hast triumphed gloriously. Such has been thy military wisdom in the struggles of this

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arduous conflict,—such the noble rectitude, amiableness and mansuetude of thy character,—something is there so singularly glorious and venerable thrown by Heaven about thee, —that not only does thy country love thee, but our very enemies stop the madness of their fire in full volley, stop the illiberality of their slander at thy name, as if rebuked from Heaven with a "Touch not mine anointed, and do my hero no harm.' Thy fame is sweeter perfume than Arabian spices in the gardens of Persia. A Baron de Steuben shall waft its fragrance to the monarch of Prussia; a Marquis de Lafayette shall waft it to a far greater monarch, and diffuse thy renown throughout Europe; * listening angels shall catch the odor, waft it to heaven, and perfume the universe."

II. Discourses on Sacramental Occasions. By Rev. J. S. Spencer, D. D., Author of "a Pastor's Sketches," &c. With an Introduction. By Gardiner Spring, D.D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1861. 12mo., pp. 468.

It is remarkable that a large proportion of the publications of many of our leading publishers consists of discourses that have been first preached to congregations in the ordinary routine of the pulpit. This fact proves in the first place that there is a large demand for this kind of reading; and secondly, that there is a large amount of ability employed in the modern pulpit. Dr. Spencer, the author of these sermons, is favorably known to many of our readers by his "Pastor's Sketches." He was a devoted preacher, learned and pious, vigorous in thought and interesting in style. These sacramental discourses, doubtless, present the sweetest and richest portion of his pulpit efforts, for what day is so sweet, so full of heavenly thoughts and feelings, as the communion Sabbath? Dr. Spencer in some instances, perhaps, customarily observed the excellent method of taking up some important doctrine as the burden of his

* The author (Dr. Stiles) does not doubt but that the capital events in the mediatorial kingdom on earth into which angels desire to look, especially those which respect the Protestant Zion, are subjects of extensive attention in heaven, and that characters of real and eminent merit in the cause of liberty and virtue are echoed and contemplated with great honor in the celestial realms.

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communion discourse, and then applying it in his service at the table. For example, in his sermon named "The Lord's Supper a Covenant," founded on Ex. xxiv. 6–8, he makes the following divisions:—I. Show that the covenant which God made with the Israelites was essentially the same as that which he makes with us. II. Consider the circumstances under which it was made. III. The nature of it. IV. Its voluntary pledge. V. Its extensive obligation. VI. Its bloody seal. The last head is not written out; only an outline is given of the remarks delivered at the table of the Master. It is as follows:—

THE BLOODY SEAL.

[A SEAL.] Blood: the victim is slain.

ON THE PART OF GOD.

1. Of *forgiveness.*—Call upon all sinners—Do you say too humiliating?—bitter herbs.

2. Of *grace.*—Israel had yet to travel, to suffer, to fight, to conquer—weak, then strong.

3. Of *redemption: for thou wast slain.*—All that sin deserved fell on the head of the devoted Saviour—soul troubled—oh, my Father, if it be possible! In short—

4. Of *heaven.*—Isaiah liv. 10, and li. 6—to him that hath loved us.—Then where will those be who have no covenant? Ashamed.

ON THE SINNER'S PART.

1. Of *trust in Christ's righteousness.*—Act of faith.

2. Of *reliance on his grace.*

3. Of *obedience to his laws:* of *fidelity.*—Faithful unto death.—Awful! see the *consoling.*—Why require this? Because he would have us unite ourselves to him in the same close, constant, perfect manner as he unites himself to us. In short—

4. Of *entire surrendry—not his own—bought*—first time—no half-way Christians—sacred host.

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III. EVENINGS WITH THE DOCTRINES. By Nehemiah Adams, D.D., Author of "Friends of Christ," "Christ a Friend," "Communion Sabbath," etc., etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861. 12mo., pp. 415.

This volume contains the substance of familiar lectures delivered in the lecture-room of the Essex-street Church, Boston, on successive Tuesday evenings in the winter of 1858–9. It treats of God, Divine Revelation, the Trinity, Deity of Christ, Deity of the Holy Spirit, Man, the Atonement, Election, Regeneration, Perseverance, Christian Perfection, the Intermediate State, and Retribution. The author is argumentative, but always calm and charitable. *O si sic omnes!* So far as we have examined, his views are, with few exceptions, sound. He believes in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, and justly says that, "as to the nature of inspiration, the degree in which the Bible is inspired, we shall find that the highest theory of inspiration is most easily maintained." That theory is, that a benevolent God, who from the beginning communicated directly with men by word of mouth, has given to men, at the withdrawal of his visible presence and audible words, a written Word, which is a divinely authorized and infallible exposition of his will. It is implied in this proposition that the Bible is as really a communication from God as though it were written on his throne with his own hand, and been conveyed from heaven to earth in the sight of men." Subsequently he observes that it is not claimed that the men who wrote the Bible were necessarily under divine guidance wherever and however employed. * * * * As writers of the Bible they claim to speak for God; and when they do not speak in his name and by his authority, we are informed that they speak 'by permission and not by commandment.'" This last statement, if we understand it correctly, is erroneous. When Paul in speaking of marriage in 1 Cor. 7th chapter, says, "I speak this by permission, and not of commandment," we are not to understand him as disclaiming divine authority. From the context it

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is clear that his meaning is, that he gives a certain permission to the Corinthians, without laying down an absolute command. The declaration is not an intimation that what he had here spoken is not to be regarded as a part of the inspired word, or that he was not then writing under the influence of the Holy Spirit. All that his language implies is, that the matter in question is permitted, not commanded. But the whole passage is inspired in the sense that we have here from the apostle's pen what the Holy Ghost moved him to write touching this subject.

"Is the nature of things the foundation of virtue?" is a question sometimes debated by metaphysicians. Dr. Adams gives the following answer:—

"It is said that things are right and wrong in themselves, not merely because God has so ordained, and that these things would be right and wrong if there were no God. Hence, the impression is made that there is a constitution of nature to which God was obliged to conform himself, some eternal laws were in existence and in operation contemporaneously with God, not created by Him, having an existence of necessity; so that they would have existed, even if there were no God. Here we have the foundation of Atheism, Pantheism, and of all those theories and dreamy notions, whose object is to remove the idea of a personal God, or by exciting a belief in something which is eternal besides God, to abate the power which the thought of God naturally has upon the mind.

"But what is *the nature of things*, when things themselves do not exist? If God existed before all things, of course there were no laws antecedent to Him. Laws are the rules and orders by which things act. It is delusive, therefore, to think of anything as existing independently of the Great First Cause. He existing from eternity, these laws and this nature of things exist contemporaneously with Him, but not independently of Him. Now we can make impossible hypotheses, but they are absurd, and then ask questions in view of them which are useless; as, for example: suppose that God should cease to be; Would not right and wrong be the same as now? Right and wrong have gained an existence because there is a God: they are eternal with Him; but they were not before Him; He necessitated them, not they Him, nor any of his attributes nor ways."

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On the extent of the atonement he holds that Christ "died for all mankind past, present, or to come, saved or lost." "Whoever Christ was, and whatever his death was intended to effect, all that He was and is, and all that He did, was for every individual, as well as for the race, and all this is as necessary for the redemption and salvation of one as of the race." And yet, he holds that this is consistent with the doctrine of a definite atonement. "But the death of Christ, sufficient for all men, had special reference to his covenanted people. If some were given to Him that He might give them eternal life, He must have had a design in dying for them which he had not in dying for Judas." He argues that the design of the atonement is to be "learned from its result, which is the salvation of God's elect."

In regard to election, he lays down and defends the following propositions:—1. All men, if left to themselves, will continue to sin, and therefore will perish. 2. God has resolved that he will rescue a part of mankind from perdition by persuading and enabling them to do their duty. 3. His influence on those who are saved is in perfect consistency with their freedom. 4. No injustice is done to those who are left, salvation is consistently offered to them, and their state is no worse than though all, like them, had perished. 5. God had purposed from all eternity to do that which He has actually done and is to do.

The volume, we presume, is a fair specimen of the views taught in the better class of Congregational pulpits in Boston. It is evidently written by one who is brought into contact with the *isms* in theology for which that city has been so much noted—a consideration that gives interest to the work. Some of our readers may be prejudiced against the book from the fact that Dr. Adams has distinguished himself as a Northern apologist for slavery, or as he would, perhaps, rather express it, for slaveholders. But we should remember that a person may be an able expounder and defender of some things while going astray on others. If every author was to be condemned because he is wrong on some important point, who could stand?

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IV. MARTIN'S NATURAL HISTORY: Translated from the thirty-fifth German Edition. By Sarah A. Myers. Containing 262 beautifully colored illustrations. Second Series. New York: Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. 1861 12mo., pp. 490.

It would display great ignorance of natural history to suppose that the whole subject in its several departments could be treated of with fullness in two volumes of this size. But we suppose that a clearer or more comprehensive presentation could not easily be made than this in the limits. The matter here found might easily be made to fill several volumes. The colored illustrations are admirable. The two volumes, giving a condensed view of all presently reliable information concerning the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, are offered at the price of $1 50 each.

V. A CONCISE SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY ON THE BASIS OF THE SHORTER CATECHISM. By Alexander Smith Patterson. Pittsburg: United Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1861.

This we are confident is one of the very best works on that excellent summary of Christian Doctrine contained in the Shorter Catechism. It is, as the title sets forth, a complete system of theology, after the order of, and founded on, the Shorter Catechism. The exercise under each question and answer consists of three parts:—1st. The Analysis of what is contained in the answer, together with the Scripture proofs of the same. 2d. The Explanation of each part, confirmed as before by pertinent texts of Scripture. 3d. Inferences naturally deducible from the same.

To those who wish to learn what a wonderful store of Scripture truth is laid up in the Shorter Catechism, we would recommend the careful perusal of this excellent little work. It has been a considerable time before the public, but has never yet had that extensive circulation which its merits deserve. We are glad to see that it is published by our Board, and that at such a price as brings it within the reach of all.

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VI. THE CROOK IN THE LOT; or, A Display of the Sovereignty and Wisdom of God in the afflictions of men, and the Christian's deportment under them. By Rev. Thos. Boston. Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a reprint of one of the best of Boston's works. It was the last of one of his valued writings, finished a little before his death, and therefore may be regarded as embodying much of the maturity of his experience. Although one of the best of men, he drank deeply of the cup of affliction, and at length, like David, he felt that it was very good for him that he had been afflicted.

This precious little book may be regarded as the fruit of his experience; and while all may be profited by its perusal, to the afflicted people of God, it will be found to yield songs of rejoicing in this the house of their pilgrimage.

VII. THE BENEFITS OF CHRIST'S DEATH: Or, The Glorious Riches of God's Free Grace, which every true Believer receives by Jesus Christ and Him Crucified. Originally written in Italian by Aonio Paleario, and now reprinted from an Ancient English Translation. With an Introduction, by Rev. John Ayer, M. A., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Hampstead, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Roden. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860.

A very full notice of the merits of this work and the history of its remarkable author appeared in this Review some time ago, when noticing the edition of it published by the Presbyterian Publication Committee. It is, therefore, unnecessary to say anything on these points now. The edition by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln is characteristic of their publications generally—that is, it is accurate, tasteful and substantial. The preciousness of the matter and the remarkable history of the author and the work render this little volume interesting and valuable.

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THE

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ARTICLE I.—SABBATH SCHOOLS: THEIR ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

[CONTINUED FROM OUR LAST NUMBER.]

WESTERN CHAPTER.

When we turn our attention to the American chapter, in the history of Sabbath-schools, we have to encounter as much controversy as we encountered in the European chapter. Many states and cities are contestants for the honor of having instituted the first Sabbath-school. It will not be difficult to determine the controversy among them. And although our own State—Pennsylvania—may not be entitled to the first, it is with no little pride that we are able to say that it comes in for the second, honor.

Here we must refer again to the *Advocate*, published at Auburn, New York. After stating that a Sabbath-school had been established by Joseph Alleine in England, as early as 1688, (which date we have shown to be a mistake, as Alleine died in 1668,) it adds, "a Sabbath-school was started in America before this—in 1674; or one hundred and seven

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years before Mr. Raikes' school." The *Advocate* seems to have been misled, either by a mistake or a typographical error made in another periodical. The *Sabbath-school Times* says in regard to the first Sabbath-school in America:—"We have various accounts. Ellis, in his history of Roxbury, Mass., says of the church, 'In 1674, (14 years before Alleine in England,) 6th day, 11th month, *is the first record of a Sabbath-school.*' The record adds:—'This day we restored a primitive practice for retraining up our youth. The male and female meet in separate places, and stay every Sabbath after morning exercise, and the elders examine their remembrance in the Catechism, and whatever else may convene. A Catechism was printed in 1641.'" There is evidently a mistake in the above date of 1674. It could not be fourteen years "before Alleine in England," because it was six years *after* his death. That a Sabbath-school was instituted in Massachusetts at this early period is highly probable, but we have no corroborative testimony on the subject. The only traces of it which we have seen are in the history of Ellis, as quoted by the *Sabbath-school Times.* But Boston herself claims the honor of having established a school in 1791. The *Norwich Packet,* of 29th April, 1791, says:—"A Sabbath-school has been established in Boston by the proprietors of the Dutch Manufactory, intended for the young daughters of industry employed in said factory."

The next candidate for this scholastic honor is Pennsylvania. "There is good evidence," says the author of the *Teacher Taught,* quoting from the *Sabbath Journal* of March 4, 1835, "that a school of this description was known in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, thirty or forty years before Raikes introduced the grand system in England." Of this school, the *Sabbath-school Times* gave an extended account, sometime during the summer of 1860, which we here present in full:—

"But the first Sabbath-school, of which we have any very definite account, was established before the year 1747,—between thirty and forty years previous to the time of Robert Raikes' first school—by a common school teacher, named *Ludwig Hacker,* in Ephrata, Lancaster county, Penn-

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sylvania. We have an *authentic* account of the regular continuance of this school for a period of between thirty and forty years, until the year 1777, or within four years of the time of Robert Raikes.

"That this school inculcated in its instruction the religious element as truly as it is contained in our Sabbath-schools of the present day, we are assured by a letter from William M. Fahnestock, M.D., to the Rev. Dr. Brantley, dated Ephrata, Lancaster county, Pa., Feb. 3, 1835. Dr. Fahnestock says:—'It flourished many years, and was attended with some remarkable consequences. It produced an anxious inquiry among the juvenile population who attended the school, which soon displayed itself in what is now termed a revival of religion. The scholars who also attended the regular day schools, were found meeting together daily, between school hours, to pray and exhort one another. On this discovery, a temporary room was provided, where they met regularly twice a day, under the superintendence of one of the brethren. The excitement increased to excess, and the pastor, BEISEE, considering it a zeal not according to knowledge, discouraged the building of a house for meeting separate from the society, which had been commenced and partly under way, *as recorded in the minutes of the society in the year* 1749. Ludwig Hacker, who was the projector, in union with some of the brethren of the society, conducted the school, (without pay, it is believed,) to give instruction to the indigent children who were kept from the regular school, by the employment which their necessities obliged them to be engaged at, as well as to give religious instruction to those in better circumstances. Hacker came to Ephrata in the year 1739, and, it is presumed, that the Sabbath-school was commenced soon after.'

"After the battle of Brandywine, in the Revolutionary war, the Sabbath-school room, with others, was given up for an hospital, which was occupied as such for a long time; and the school was never afterwards resumed.

"I have ascertained from an aged brother, (72 years,) Thomas Davis, who now resides in Chester county, that he went to the Sabbath-school in Ephrata, and that he was about twelve or thirteen years of age when it was discontinued."

We have not been able to examine the originals in this case, but the testimony is conclusive. The records of the society prove that the pastor was very much afraid, in 1749,

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that the independence of the church was about to be infringed upon by a new society. Thomas Davis was born about the year 1763, and would be between thirteen and fourteen years of age when the battle of Brandywine was fought in 1777; and being about 72 years old in 1835 he was well qualified to bear testimony in the matter.

Virginia next presents her claim. Francis Asbury was born in the neighborhood of Birmingham, England, on the 20th of August, 1745. He came to the United States in 1771, in the capacity of a preacher, and in 1784 was consecrated bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Dr. Coke. It is said, that in the same year, (1784,) Bishop Asbury established a Sabbath-school in the house of Thomas Crenshaw, in Hanover, Virginia. This was only three years after Raikes' experiment in England. It is said that to Asbury "belongs the honor of having first brought across the great water the Robert Raikes idea of Sabbath-schools." This was impossible, for he arrived in this country ten years before Raikes instituted his school at Gloucester; so that, if he borrowed the idea from Raikes, it must have been communicated to him or been learned from some public report. It is claimed that this was the "first" Sabbath-school in the United States. But, if we can credit Ellis' history, as quoted in the *Sabbath-school Times*, a Sabbath-school existed in Massachusetts about one hundred years before this time; and we have seen upon evidence, which to us seems entirely credible, that a Sabbath-school existed in Pennsylvania thirty-seven years before this date.

We now enter upon a period in which there is not so much uncertainty, as we have public documents to guide us. On the 19th of December, 1790, a meeting of some twelve persons was held in the city of Philadelphia for the purpose of taking into consideration the establishment of Sabbath-schools in that city, in which instructions might be given, on the Sabbath-day, "to such persons as from indigence, or other causes, were deprived of the advantages of moral and intellectual culture in week-day schools." The following are the names of those who were present at the preliminary meeting:—The Right Rev. Wm. White, D.D.,

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Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Benjamin Say, Dr. William Currie, and Messrs. Thomas P. Cope, Thomas Mendenhall, Peter Thompson, Jr., Matthew Carey, Joseph Sharpless, Isaac Price, Caleb Atmore, and Captain Nathaniel Falconer. Bishop White was chosen chairman, and a committee was at once appointed to draft a constitution. On that day week following, December 26, 1790, a constitution was reported and adopted for the "*First-day, or Sabbath-school Society.*" We shall here present the preamble and a few of the principal sections:—

WHEREAS, the good education of youth is of the first importance to society, and numbers of children, the off-spring of indigent parents, have not proper opportunities of instruction, previously to their being apprenticed to trades. And whereas, among the youth of every large city, various instances occur, of the first day of the week, called Sabbath —a day which ought to be devoted to religious improvement, being employed to the worst of purposes, the depravation of morals and manners; it is, therefore, the opinion of the subscribers, that the establishment of First day, or Sabbath-schools, in this city and liberties, would be of essential advantage to the rising generation; and for effecting that benevolent purpose, they have formed themselves into a society, by the name, style, and title of "*The Society for the Instruction and Support of First-day, or Sabbath-schools, in the city of Philadelphia,* and districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties, and have adopted the following constitution:—

SECTION I.

The instruction to be given in these schools shall be confined to reading and writing from the Bible, and such other moral and religious books as the society may, from time to time, direct.

SECTION II.

This society shall consist of all those persons who have subscribed, or may hereafter subscribe to this constitution, and pay to the Treasurer, at the time of such subscription, and annually afterwards, the sum of one dollar for the support of the Institution. But any person having paid, or who shall hereafter pay into the hands of the Treasurer ten dollars and sign the constitution, shall receive a certificate entitling him to membership during life, without being sub-

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jected to any annual payment. Any member who shall for two years discontinue his annual payments, shall cease to belong to the said society.

SECTION III.

Provides for the appointment of officers; also, of twelve visitors, three of whom shall be relieved from duty at each quarterly meeting, by the appointment of three other members of the society to supply their places.

SECTION VII.

Provides that the Board of visitors, or a committee of them, shall visit the schools at least once a month.

SECTION XI.

Provides that all the income of the society shall be applied to the institution, and support of Sabbath-schools within the prescribed limits and their vicinities, "and to the free instruction therein of the off-spring of indigent parents in reading and writing, which shall be from the Bible and such other moral and religious books as the society may, from time to time, direct as aforesaid."

This society obtained an act of incorporation in 1796.

"The "First-day, or Sabbath-school Society," was fully organized on the 11th of January, 1791, and its first schools were opened on the first Sabbath of February, or March, 1791. The hours set apart for instruction were from eight till half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and from one till three in the afternoon, or from four and-a-half until six and-a-half in the evening, whichever was more convenient. On the second Sabbath of their existence, there were sixty-one in the boys' and sixteen in the girls' department. A Mr. John Ely, for the consideration of £30, or eighty dollars, conducted the school at the corner of Arch and Third streets; and a Mr. John Poor for an equal salary conducted another in Front, near Arch street. In April following, the increase was such as to gladden the hearts of those who had initiated the enterprise. At this period there were one hundred boys and sixty girls in attendance. The duties had now become so onerous that the wages of the teachers were advanced to £45 ($120) per annum. In addition to

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the two already mentioned, another school had, by this time, been organized, and the whole number of scholars attending them was about two hundred. The idea had never yet occurred to the managers of these schools, nor to the different religious bodies, that each congregation should either support a school or schools connected with itself, or make contributions for the support of Sabbath-schools generally, wherever established. The means for their support were chiefly derived from annual subscriptions and contributions of ten dollars made by those who were desirous of becoming life members.* But the system grew fast in popular favor. An evidence of this may be seen in a circumstance which took place in September, 1791. Some benevolent individual had placed fifty dollars in the hands of the Mayor to be disposed of as he thought proper. As a wise man, he looked upon the First-day Society as the most benevolent with which he was acquainted, and to it he presented the sum mentioned above.

This institution suggested the idea of another, from which our children are deriving at present so much worldly benefit—it led to the establishment of our free schools. In "October 11th, 1791, a committee was appointed to prepare a petition to the Legislature of the State, praying them to establish free schools throughout the State. On the 29th of December, 1791, the petition was presented which set forth:—"That the proper education of youth is an object of the first importance, particularly in free countries, as the surest preservative of the virtue, liberty, and happiness of the people."

"That the salutary effects which have resulted from the Sabbath-schools, established in this city, by affording the means of education to numbers who would be otherwise entirely debarred therefrom, having furnished the strongest evidence, that schools established at the public expense, are

* For the facts connected with the establishment and progress of this society we are chiefly indebted to a small pamphlet published in Philadelphia in 1847, entitled, "A Brief Statement of the Society for the support of First-day, or Sabbath-schools, in Philadelphia."

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the most effectual means of diffusing the blessings of illumination among the mass of the people." It further set forth: "that as the three Sabbath-schools in this city and district, though a general benefit, by imparting education to nearly two hundred persons, at hours not interfering with Divine worship, are supported by a very small portion of the community, the burden thus operating very unequally, whence the funds are precarious, and inadequate to the extensive object contemplated by your memorialists; they, therefore, further pray, that the Legislature would be pleased to make such provision by law, for their support, as in their wisdom may seem fit." In accordance, no doubt, with this suggestion or petition, Art. VII., Sec. 1, of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which declares that "the Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such manner that the poor may be taught *gratis*," was more speedily carried into effect.

One of the rules of the schools connected with the First-day Society was, that the scholars should "attend some place of worship;" and on some occasions they went to church in a body, accompanied by the teachers.

The progress of the schools connected with this society was seriously retarded for want of pecuniary means. At times some of them had to be suspended entirely for lack of aid. As a matter of course they were necessarily subjected to great fluctuations, the attendance varying from twenty to one hundred and twenty.

In 1794 an important era was inaugurated in the history of Sabbath-school teaching. It is said that in that year a gentleman by the name of James Hardy volunteered his services to teach, gratuitously, for half a year, a school to be made up of children whose parents had been taken away by the yellow fever that prevailed the year previous. This school was established in the Friends' Academy, South Fourth-street,—it rather proved a failure.

In about the space of four years after the establishment of the society, the schools connected with it, not more, perhaps, than three or four in number, and subject to some

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temporary suspensions for want of pecuniary aid, gave instruction to 954 children. And at the close of that period there were 100 males and 80 females in attendance. In nine years, from January, 1791, till January, 1800, the society was at an expense of about $4,000. The whole number taught in that period was 2,127; 1,224 of whom were males and 903 females. By this time the society had received some legacies which had been bequeathed to it by different benevolent individuals, and had on its roll 370 annual subscribers.

The schools connected with the Society began to give unmistakeable signs of decline in 1815, owing to the fact, as stated, "that a number of young men and women had opened schools, similar to those, on the Sabbath-day," and gave their services gratis. Many schools were formed in the city at this time on what is known as the "union" principle, in which the teachers volunteered their services, receiving no remuneration therefor. The consequence was, that the last of these schools was given up in 1819. And on the 28th of July, in that year, a "committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of applying the funds of the institution more efficiently." This committee reported that inasmuch as their schools were superseded, in a great measure, by the organization of others in connection with the various religious denominations, the Board of Visitors should be authorized to apply the funds of the society for the use of Sabbath-schools, in such a way as to them would seem advisable. From its organization till October, 1847, the society expended $17,355 63. It is still in existence. "Its chief office at present, is to take care of a small fund which has accumulated from legacies and subscriptions, and to distribute the income, (about $300 per annum,) in appropriate donations of books, to needy Sabbath-schools in Philadelphia and its environs."

The great object of this society seems to have been to foster and encourage "the religious observance of the Christian Sabbath." And yet, the education received by those who attended its schools was of a *mixed* kind—partly secular and partly religious. But "the exercises of the

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scholars were restricted to reading in the Old and New Testaments, and in writing copies from the same." Such children as could not read were, as a matter of course, "allowed the use of spelling-books and primers." The restricted use of the sacred Scriptures, however, was confined to the school and school hours. For at a meeting held on the 10th of April, 1792, "the Board submitted to the Society the propriety of printing a number of small moral books, to be lent by the Visiting Committee, or the masters of the schools, to such of the scholars as will peruse them at home, and to be given as premiums at such examinations as the Board of Visitors may think proper to hold. Whereupon, it was ordered that the Board be authorized to procure such a number of small moral books for the object above stated as they may think proper, provided the expense do not exceed the sum of ten pounds," or about twenty-five dollars.

It may be well here to give some account of the Visiting Committee referred to above. The regulations of the Society "required the appointment of a Board of Visitors of twelve members, who were directors for the time being—these were divided into four committees, and some one of these committees regularly visited the schools to ascertain their condition, the attendance and progress of the scholars, &c., and regularly reported to the society." Such committees are highly beneficial; and in all cases where it is practicable they should be appointed. For this purpose Sabbath-schools should form "Unions," or organize district "Associations."

There is another matter connected with this society which is worthy of attention, especially during the hot summer months. There was no difficulty in getting teachers and scholars to attend as early as six o'clock in the morning during the summer, and as late as half-past seven during the winter months. "For some years the schools were commenced as early as six o'clock in the morning in summer, and at half-past seven in the winter, thus showing an interest and devotion on the part of all concerned, worthy of so noble a cause."

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With the *mushroom* aristocracy of our day, Sabbath-school teaching is low, humiliating, and degrading. It is with great difficulty that we get some who have started into a little notice in the world, and whose parents were indebted to the Sabbath-school for *all* the education they ever received, to take an interest in sabbatical instruction. Their great fear is, that they will lose, what they have never succeeded in attaining to—distinction and high consideration. There are many honorable exceptions. The most noble and influential of many lands have not considered the work beneath them, but, on the contrary, have taken pleasure and delight in its performance. Among the thousand of its members "who manifested a truly commendable zeal for the proper observance of the Christian Sabbath and the welfare of the young," *The First-day, or Sabbath-school Society*, numbered "many of the most worthy and influential citizens of various professions and of all religious denominations."

Let us now turn our attention to New York. "The *Sabbath-school Repository* for 1818," says Pardee in Newcombe, "states that the first Sabbath-school in New York was instituted in 1791, and incorporated in 1796. Its object was to instruct children to read and write, gratuitously, who were unable to go to school during the week; but their instructions were carried on by means of hired teachers, and their design did not extend to the religious instruction of the scholars." From the same source we learn that in the *Sabbath-school Teacher's Magazine* for 1824, "it is stated that Mr. and Mrs. Bethune had spent part of the years 1801 and 1802 in Great Britain, where they had observed the progress Sabbath-schools were then making in that country; and on their return, they conversed on the subject with their pious and excellent mother, Mrs. Isabella Graham of New York, who resided with them, and it was determined that as soon as possible they would *try* to introduce them here." Their resolution was soon afterwards carried into effect, and in the following year (1803) these pious and devoted individuals opened a Sabbath-school "at the house of Mrs. Leech in Mott-street." This school was supported

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out of their own private purse. This is supposed to have been the first Sabbath-school of a strictly religious character that New York ever saw. It was attended by about forty pupils of both sexes. Rewards were liberally bestowed every Monday morning upon such as gave punctual attendance on the Sabbath previous. These donations consisted of tracts, and articles of clothing of various kinds. Shortly afterwards, two other schools were established by the same persons in other localities in the city, which, with the one already in successful operation, were regularly superintended by them every Sabbath day. To the first they devoted the hours of the morning before service; and to the last two the hours of the afternoon between the religious exercises of the church, being content with a cold lunch, even in the winter, which they had brought with them in the morning.

"Mrs. Graham opened the first *adult* school at Greenwich, on the second Sabbath of June, 1814, and about two months afterwards passed to her account." The *London Cyclopædia*, then, makes a grave mistake when it says:—"It is strange that no school was established in New York until 1816." Ten years after Raikes' school was established at Gloucester, we find a school, almost, if not altogether, as good, in operation at New York; and in 1803, schools were established on a better, and much more liberal plan than any in England.

Ohio makes the next claim. In *Putnam's Cyclopædia* it is said that Mrs. Archibald Lake established a Sabbath-school in the stockade at Marietta, Ohio, in the month of March, 1791. Mrs. Lake was a woman of deep-toned piety. She cherished the most sacred reverence for the Sabbath day, and was wounded at the heart when she saw the children connected with the garrison spending it in idleness, folly, and trifling amusement. She asked herself, Can nothing be done for these thoughtless, wicked, and neglected children? At length she came to the determination that she would assemble them together on the Sabbath—inculcate some lessons from the Bible, and teach them the Shorter Catechism. The school, which consisted of about

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twenty scholars, was held in her own house, and continued for four or five years. At the expiration of this period, Mrs. Lake removed to Rainbow, on the Muskingum river, and the school was broken up. "Several of the present church members at Marietta," says a correspondent of one of our religious papers, August 11th, 1860, "were taught in this school."

New Jersey is the next claimant. It is said that a Sabbath-school was instituted at Patterson, New Jersey, in the year 1794. Of this we know nothing beyond the bare announcement which has traveled the rounds of the secular and religious press.

Amongst the contestants of the last century little Rhode Island is the last, so far as we know, and we have been devoting much of our time for some years to this subject. It is said that a school was established by Samuel Slater, Esq., in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1797. It was designed for the benefit of the many factory operatives which were in Mr. Slater's employment. The first superintendent of this school was a Mr. Collie, "then a student of Brown University, and who subsequently, and for many years, was a Baptist clergyman, at Charleston, Massachusetts, and afterwards became a missionary at large in Boston, where he was much esteemed for his benevolence and piety."

We cannot say at what period Sabbath-schools were first instituted in Pittsburg. Religious bodies, as such, gave no patronage to Sabbath-schools in the United States, until the beginning of the present century. Previous to 1809 Sabbath-schools were supported by public subscription, or at the private expense of those who founded them. It is with no little pride we are able to say that Pittsburg took the initiative in this regard. This statement we are able to make on the authority of the author of the "Teacher Taught," and R. G. Pardee, Esq. "It was not until 1809, however, that churches or public bodies began to institute or patronize Sabbath-schools in this country. The *first school* on this plan was probably one organized, August 22, 1809, in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., which met for the first

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time on the first Sabbath of September, in the jury-room of the Court-house. It was regularly organized under an excellent constitution, and was attended by 240 children and adults. This school was formed without a knowledge of the mode of organization in Europe, and coincided in its principal features with the schools now established."

From this time forward schools were established everywhere on this basis. Some time during the summer of 1811, the Rev. Robert May, a missionary of the London Missionary Society designated for India, arrived in Philadelphia, on his way thither. He remained in this country for about a year, and, having had a building suitable for the purpose erected, established a Sabbath-school in Philadelphia, on the 20th of October, 1811. This school, which enjoyed the personal superintendence of Mr. May until he took his departure for India in the following year, did not differ in any material point from the present plan of sabbatical instruction which obtains generally throughout the country. Mr. May brought the idea with him from Britain, and yet his system did not differ in any essential point from the schools established in Pittsburg two years previous. In a period of five years it is estimated that no less than eighteen hundred children received instruction in Mr. May's school. The distinguished missionary did not survive perhaps to learn the joyful tidings. He died in Calcutta in the month of August, 1818, six years after he left Philadelphia. "He was a man of remarkably Catholic spirit, and was offered four pulpits of four different denominations in New York on the same Sabbath," which, in those days of the sternest bigotry and most rigid sectarianism, was no small honor.

Schools were established upon the same principle in Albany in 1813; in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1814; in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, in 1815;* and in the following year they had become very general.

In the year 1816, the Christian and philanthropic ladies

* This school was attended by above 500 scholars.

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of the various religious denominations in New York, proposed to form a society for the promotion of religious instruction on the Sabbath day. When the ladies resolve they very soon carry their resolution into practical effect, unless there are some insurmountable difficulties over which no power can exercise any control. This was very clear in the matter referred to; for on the 24th day of January, in that year, "The Female Union Society for the formation of Sabbath-schools" was organized in New York. And on the 26th of February, in the same year, according to previous arrangement, "The New York Sabbath-school Union" was formed. The Christian philanthropists of that city set to the work and did it with all their might; for during the first year of the existence of these schools more than 6,000 scholars were entered on their roll. This Union is auxiliary to the American S. S. Union. We need not present its constitution, as it always accompanies the Annual Report of the Society, which may be had on application at the office in New York.

Religious instruction had now become the chief distinguishing characteristic of the Sabbath-school; and those schools which had been established on, at least, a *semi*-secular basis began to struggle for existence. The First-day, or Sabbath-school society, as we have before remarked, began to evince signs of decay, owing to the formation of schools on a more religious platform.

The Philadelphia Sabbath and Adult Society was formed in May, 1817, and incorporated in January, 1819. Alex. Henry, Esq., was chosen president of the society, and held the office until it became merged into the American Sabbath-school Union. The nature of the society will be best learned from its Constitution. We shall present the preamble and a few of the principal articles of that instrument.

PREAMBLE.

To cultivate unity and Christian charity among those of different names; to ascertain the extent of gratuitous instruction in Sabbath and Adult schools; to promote their establishment in the city, as well as in towns and villages

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in the country; to give more effect to Christian exertion in general; and to encourage and strengthen each other *in the cause of the Redeemer*, the members of the Sabbath day and Adult Societies of the city of Philadelphia, and other parts of the State of Pennsylvania, agree to associate, under the title of "The Sabbath-day and Adult-school Union," subject to the provisions of the following articles:—

ARTICLE I.

This society shall be composed of the members of such school societies (being citizens of the commonwealth) as pay three dollars, and individuals who pay one dollar annually, in advance. Donors of twenty dollars shall be members for life. *Provided*, That the yearly income of the real estate, and the interest of the money to be lent, shall not exceed the sum of five hundred pounds.

ARTICLE II.

Provides that the business shall be conducted by a Board of twelve managers, and by two representatives chosen by each society; and that "clergymen of the different denominations, whose school societies are attached to the Union, shall be honorary members of the Board, and have a right to vote on all questions."

ARTICLE III.

Gives power to the managers to "place out at interest, or loan to school societies in want of pecuniary assistance, free of interest, or make donations to such societies, any surplus funds beyond the annual expenditures; and to purchase and publish any books for the use of Sabbath and Adult schools, with the exception of such as treat on disputed points of doctrine, catechisms excepted."

ARTICLE V.

Required the Treasurer to "give bond for the faithful performance of his trust, in such sum and with such security as the Board of Managers shall, from time to time, direct."

This society had already seen the baneful effects of the want of system in the schools which had been established under the auspices of other societies. Its first work, therefore, was to prepare "a system for the internal regulation

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of Sabbath-schools." The committee intrusted with this business examined carefully the plans of the New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia schools, and embodied in their system "all the various improvements made by these societies." We can merely present an abstract of this "system."

It provided in the first place for the classification of the scholars, a thing of the utmost importance to any school. The first class was to be composed of such as could read in the Testament; the second, of those who read "indifferently"; the third, of such as were unable to read, but could spell words of two or more syllables; and the fourth, of those in the alphabet, and such as could spell words of one syllable.

The children were required to recite in the morning from the New Testament, "that portion committed to memory during the past week," then to read a chapter or two, and be instructed from the portion read by the teacher;—in the afternoon, to recite the catechism, be examined upon it, and read and spell from the New Testament. Rewards were to be given of tickets printed with red, black, and blue ink. Penalties were to be inflicted on both teachers and scholars. Children absent at roll call, forfeited one blue ticket, and a similar or other forfeiture for negligence of whatever kind. If a teacher was absent at roll call, he paid a forfeit of 12½ cents. If unavoidably prevented from attending, he had to provide a substitute, or forfeit 25 cents. For not reporting the reason of the absence of children, 12½ cts.; superintendent's fines double.

From the second annual report of this society, published in May, 1819, we gather much useful information in regard to the number and extent of Sabbath-schools throughout the country. Eighty-four schools were added during the second year, and at its close the whole number of schools was 129; these contained 10,550 white children; 337 white adults; 663 colored children, and 716 colored adults; making, in all, 12,306 scholars, who were regularly instructed by 1,431 teachers; of whom 671 were males, and

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761 females. The population of the country was then about nine millions. In the following year it was exactly 9,638,131.

In the report referred to, we find returns from the following societies and schools. Sabbath-school society of York County, Pa., instituted on the 7th of August, 1817. At first there was only one school connected with the society. It commenced with 17 scholars, and increased until there were 500 on the roll. The whole number of schools in York county, in 1819, amounted to 23, with 1,848 scholars, and 161 teachers. At that time there were 21,355 children, 16 years and under, in the county; 5,339 were of too tender an age to attend school, leaving 16,016 who could have attended school; but not more than 5,000 were receiving instruction of any kind, which shows that at that time there were 11,016 children in York County who were not attending any school. At this time it was estimated that there were 241,284 children, of sixteen years and under, in the State of Pennsylvania, and that not more than 60,000 of them were attending schools of any kind, thus leaving 180,284 children, who were receiving no education either secular or religious.

Sabbath-school, No. 1, Charleston, S. C., which had suffered much from the pestilence during the previous year, reported 200 scholars and 20 teachers. The First Female Sabbath-school of the same place reported 60 scholars, and 8 teachers. The Sabbath-school society of Columbia, S. C., reported 3 schools, 132 scholars, and 15 teachers.

The Sabbath-school connected with the Second Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware, organized in 1814 with 30 children, reported 200 scholars and 16 teachers, and that the scholars had sent thirty dollars to India for the education of a heathen child.

The Columbia Sabbath-school Society of Columbia Co., Pa., established July, 1818, reported 2 schools, 115 children, 41 adults, and 20 teachers.

The Sabbath-school of Trenton, New Jersey, embraced 2 schools, containing 135 white and 65 colored children, 15 adults, and 29 teachers.

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The Union Sabbath-school Society of Lewiston, Delaware, established August, 1818, reported 2 schools, 60 white and 33 colored scholars, and 39 colored adults, all under the care of 12 teachers.

The Female Society of Lancaster, Pa., comprised one school, with 189 white and 4 colored children, and 4 colored adults, who were taught by 22 teachers.

The Society of Columbia, Pa., formed on the 1st of Jan., 1819, reported 3 schools, 519 white and 68 colored children, and 60 colored adults, fed with spiritual knowledge by 58 teachers.

Union Society of Delaware County, Pa., embraced three schools, with 200 children.

The Sabbath-school Association of Pittsburg reported 10 schools and 600 children.

The Sabbath-school of Steubenville, Ohio, founded in February, 1818, consisted of 160 white and 8 colored children, and 20 teachers.

This society continued to do a good work from its organization in 1817 till 1824, a period of seven years. And although very limited in the range of its operations, its labors were crowned with the greatest success. In the first year of its existence there were only 43 schools connected with it, and these were limited to two States. At the close of the second year it had extended its operations into no less than five States, as well as the District of Columbia. In 1824 it had 723 schools, scattered over 17 States. In 1817 its business amounted to about $450; in 1824, it was nearly $6,000.

But, on the occasion of its seventh anniversary, some of the ardent friends of the Sabbath-school proposed to form a National Society. Accordingly, the following preamble and resolution were offered by Thomas Bradford, Esq., of Philadelphia, seconded by the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., of New York, and passed unanimously:—

Whereas, the great and progressing increase of schools throughout our country, exerting a powerful and most beneficial influence over all classes of society, calls loudly *for*

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union and organized action, and the prosperity of this society shows clearly the sufficiency of such union; and, whereas, the Constitution of the American Sabbath-school Union has been approved by the Sabbath-day and Adult-school Union of Philadelphia; therefore,

Resolved, That the Constitution of the *American Sabbath-school Union* be adopted.

Thus the American Sabbath-school Union was organized in May, 1824. The following is the Constitution as it was then adopted. It was but very slightly altered when the society was incorporated under a charter from the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1845.

1. This Society shall be known by the name of the "AMERICAN SABBATH-SCHOOL UNION." Its objects are to concentrate the efforts of Sabbath-school Societies in the different sections of our country—to strengthen the hands of the friends of religious instruction on the Lord's-day—to disseminate useful information—circulate moral and religious publications in every part of the land, and to endeavor to plant a Sabbath-school wherever there is a population.

2. Each subscriber of three dollars annually, shall be a member. Each subscriber paying thirty dollars at one time, shall be a member for life. Sabbath-school Societies or Unions sending a copy of their constitution, list of their officers, and an annual report, shall be auxiliary, and shall be entitled to purchase books at the reduced prices.

3. The affairs and funds of this Society shall be under the direction of a Board, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and thirty-six Managers, twenty-four of whom shall reside in the city of Philadelphia or its vicinity. The managers shall be divided into three classes, whose terms of service shall be respectively one, two, and three years; but they may be reëlected.

4. The officers and managers shall be laymen, and shall be elected by ballot.

5. The managers shall annually elect all officers of the Society, fill vacancies in their own body, make their own by-laws, publish such books, periodical works, and tracts, as they may deem expedient, and may adopt such other

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measures as may, in their opinion, promote the objects of the Association. Seven managers shall constitute a quorum.

6. The annual meetings of the Society shall be held at Philadelphia, on the first Tuesday after the 20th of May, when the proceedings of the past year shall be reported, the accounts presented, and the managers chosen. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum. If a quorum does not appear on the day of the annual meeting, the election of managers shall take place at the next meeting whenever a quorum appears, and the managers of the Society shall remain in office until a new election takes place.

7. Special meetings of the Society shall be called by the President, or in his absence by either of the Vice-Presidents, at the written request of six managers; of which meeting three days' public notice shall be given.

8. Officers of Sabbath-school Unions auxiliary to this Society, and clergymen whose schools are attached to it, shall have the privilege of attending the stated meetings of the Board of Managers.

9. No alteration in this constitution shall take place, unless the same shall be proposed, in writing, to the Board of Managers at least three months previous to its adoption, and be approved by two-thirds of the members present, at a meeting duly notified.

Under this name and with these comprehensive and benevolent aims, the American Sabbath-school Union commenced its career, receiving from the Philadelphia Sabbath-day and Adult-school Union, funds, materials, stock, &c., amounting in value to $5,000.*

Referring to the "union" of the societies, the Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the American Sabbath-school Union, page 56, says:—

"As Christian laymen, belonging to various denominations, we have associated for the purpose of endeavoring to establish Sabbath-schools wherever there is a destitute population, and for the farther purpose of supplying instruction and reading, which shall inculcate the essential truths of our common faith, without reasonable offence to any one, touching matters of an essential importance. In

* Report for 1854, p. 63.

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all our plans and measures, we act in furtherance of the great design of the gospel ministry and the establishment of the church of Christ. Wherever we succeed, the gospel ministry gains essential and permanent support, and the cause of the Redeemer finds new and faithful friends.

"In our individual relations we uphold (and in our associated capacity we are far from opposing) the efforts of the various denominations of Christians to defend and propagate, by all lawful means, their respective views of truth and order. We would not, if we could, interfere with, depreciate, or abridge these efforts; they can be wisely and efficiently prosecuted without trespassing on the common right.

"But we find that as Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Congregationalists, we can maintain the integrity of our relations to our respective churches and communities, while we can unite to teach *the truth that Christ taught, and as plainly as he taught it.* For, be it always remembered, that if we differ respecting the true construction of some of 'the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth,' we then say only just what He said, leaving those who read or hear to judge of His meaning. In the doctrines of the supremacy of the inspired Scriptures, as the rule of faith and duty—the lost state of man by nature, and his exposure to endless punishment in a future world—his recovery only by the free, sovereign and sustaining grace of God, through the atonement and merits of a divine Redeemer, and by the influence of the Holy Spirit—the necessity of faith, repentance and holy living, with an open confession of the Saviour before men, and the duty of complying with his ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper—in these doctrines we find the essential and leading truths of the Christian system; in the reception of these doctrines we agree, and with God's help, we endeavor to teach and inculcate them on all whom we can properly reach.

"In the year 1825, the society had grown so much into popular favor that it was necessary to call stereotype plates into requisition in order to supply the universal demand that was made for its publications. This year was characterized by another improvement in the history of the Union, which still continues to be one of its most useful and important elements, viz: *the employment of Sabbath-school missionaries.* The first annual report says, in regard to this agency: Impressed with the importance of well-directed

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missionary laborers, and the formation of a separate missionary fund having from its beginning entered into the scheme of operations, your Board, during the year, have had in their employ, for different periods of time, six missionaries, whose instructions require them to establish new schools, visit old ones, revise, animate and encourage such as are languishing, organize auxiliary unions, explain the objects of the society, and by all proper means extend its influence and usefulness."

During the year 1860, the missionaries employed by the society succeeded in organizing two thousand and ninety-one schools. The agents in this department are chiefly divinity students, whose labors are confined principally to the Spring, Summer and Autumn months in the year, and are performed, for the most part, in the Western States. The reason of this is evident. "The tide of migration flows Westward. The rapidly-forming settlements of our new States and Territories present the most inviting field for the pioneer missionary. A large number of contributors specially appropriate their money to the West, and leave the Board no discretion in selecting the field." In 1850, the missionary corps amounted to 103.

The society employs *no collecting agents.* The salaries of its secretaries and agents are paid out of the profits realized on the publications sold. Editors and officers who receive salaries are paid from the same source. The abandonment of *collecting agencies* has proved highly successful, as the following comparison will show:—For the year ending February 29th, 1860, the total receipts in the form of donations and collections (not including legacies) were $57,499.99. The receipts of the former year were $49,831.21. From this must be taken $4,931.17, paid on account of collecting agencies for the first five months of the year, at which time they ceased, leaving at the disposal of the Board, for missionary purposes, $44,900.04. By comparing this amount with the receipts of the year just closed, it will show a balance in favor of the "no collecting agency" policy of $12,599 95. And when the comparison is made for a period of ten years it shows the income for 1860, for benevolent purposes, to be larger by $22,758.34, without collect-

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ing agencies than the average of the preceding ten years was with collecting agencies.* The missionaries sometimes visit the eastern cities during the severity of the winter months for the purpose of giving an account of their labors and to solicit means for the support and extension of the missionary work, but this "*involves no additional expense for salaries.*"

It is proper to remark here, that everything connected with this Society is conducted on the Union principle. And in order that it may be carried out more effectually, the Board of officers and managers is, by the terms of its Constitution, made to consist, exclusively, of *laymen*, who are in connection with the various religious denominations in the country. A member of any "Evangelical denomination" is eligible to the office of a local or itinerant agency "for the distribution of books, or the opening of schools." The same principle is acted upon in the publishing department. The Committee on Publication consists of fourteen persons, who must be representatives of not less than four religious denominations, "and not more than three from any one denomination." This committee must first give its approbation before any work can be published by the Society.

The *lay* principle is not carried out in all the ramifications of the Society's operations. Missionaries are employed to travel through the country and make explorations with a view of finding out such localities as are destitute of the Word of Life. The missionaries are, for the most part, ministers of the Gospel and students of Divinity, whose pay "does not exceed, on an average, one dollar per day for the time they work." The missionary system was inaugurated one year after the organization of the society, and has been productive of much good.

The mode of operation is somewhat as follows:—When the missionaries visit such districts of country as are destitute of the means of religious instruction—they go from

* Annual report for 1860.

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house to house—converse with heads of families and their households in regard to the benefits to be derived from a course of systematic religious instruction on the Sabbath day, and of the importance of having a Sabbath-school established in the settlement or neighborhood. If it is impracticable to establish a school immediately, they furnish the families visited with some useful books or tracts, and make arrangements for holding a meeting at some convenient place, where they may give a more lengthy explanation of the Sabbath-school system. When the meeting has been convened, the object and benefits of Sabbath-schools are explained, and the method of conducting them is pointed out. A school, if practicable, is then organized, and "the best qualified persons" that can be found are selected "to serve as teachers."*

Such a system, in a country like the United States, where, in many districts, there is a very sparse population, is of the utmost advantage. There are many places where the Gospel is only preached once in every three, four, or six weeks, and that, too, with great irregularity. The establishment of Sabbath-schools in such localities soon leads to the organization of a church or congregation where the Gospel is regularly dispensed by an accredited ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ. "The Sabbath-schools," says one, "go before, and in a hundred places where the minister cannot yet be sent, or supported if sent, they plant the seed which germinates, and not unfrequently matures into a church of Jesus Christ. Several young churches in Illinois, of good promise, are known to have had their origin in such schools, organized within the last three years."

It is but just to observe, that the missionaries are not confined to the Union principle in the organization of schools, for they may, as soon as formed, "attach themselves to any church or denominational organization they please," and such attachment "is no bar to their claims on" the society "for sympathy and aid." There is a number of

* "Popular Sketch," p. 14.

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denominational organizations in the country, such as "the Methodist, Reformed Dutch, and Episcopal Societies in New York, and the New England Baptist, and Congregational Societies in Boston." The design of these organizations is, chiefly, to disseminate their own denominational principles and peculiarities. "But the American Sabbath-school Union, established at Philadelphia, is the only Sabbath-school society in the United States that employs Sabbath-school missionaries, or forms Union schools, or publishes Union Sabbath-school books." There are some auxiliary societies, such as the New York Sabbath-school Union, and others, which "are organized on the same principle," but they are local in their operations, and neither publish books nor collect means "for establishing schools in other States."

For more minute details we must refer the reader to the Annual Report of the Society, and to a little work lately published by it, entitled, "Popular Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Sabbath-schools in the United States," by the author of "The Teacher Taught."

Before proceeding to give a statistical account of the progress of the society, we cannot refrain from paying a tribute to the memory of Alexander Henry, Esq., whose whole life was identified with the Sabbath-school cause, and to whom, under God, the American Sabbath-school Union owes much of its present prosperity. Mr. Henry was born in Ireland in the year 1765, and came to this country when he was eighteen years of age. He was the youngest of five brothers, and was left an orphan, by the death of his father, when he was only two years old. It was his intention and the intention of his friends that he should enter some of the learned professions. With this view, his eldest brother took charge of him, and a tutor was employed to train him for the University. The tutor died in the meantime, and young Henry embarked in mercantile pursuits. He had many wealthy relatives; but, finding that the maternal estate was inadequate for the support of the whole family, he came to this country in 1783. He was chosen President of the Adult and Sabbath-school Union at its first organization, (or at least in the second

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year of its existence,) and when that society became merged into the American Sabbath-school Union, in 1824, he was unanimously transferred to its Presidency, and held the office from that date till he died in August 1847, in the eighty-second year of his age; and during all that long period he was never absent from an annual meeting, except in May 1847, a few months before his death, when he was prevented from being present by infirmity. The high estimation in which he was held by the Board is evidenced by the action it had in regard to his death at a special meeting held on the 16th of August, 1847, and which will be found in an Appendix to the Annual Report for 1848.

The society has made great progress, and though not as great as, from the rapid growth of the country, might be expected, yet, all difficulties considered, arising from the vast extent of the field, being not less (including the United States only)* than 1,464,105 square miles, and others which might be mentioned, it is such as to gladden and encourage the hearts of those who take an interest in the religious training of the young and rising generation in our land. The value of books distributed during the first year of the society only amounted to $3,563.93. Last year, the sales of books amounted to $234,436.82. At the first organization of the Union, there were only 1,050 schools in the whole country that were connected with it, whilst last year there were:—New Schools organized directly by missionaries where none previously existed, 2,091; teachers pledging to conduct these schools, 14,225; children enrolled at the time of organization, 83,278; schools visited and aided by the missionaries, 3,701; teachers laboring in these schools, 30,355; scholars in attendance, 215,168; whole number of schools organized and aided, 5,792; whole number of teachers, 44,580; whole number of scholars, 298,446; volumes of religious books supplied to these schools directly by the missionaries, about 224,000; making, in 18mo. pages, more than 29,000,000.

* We do not know whether the Society extends its operations into the Territories; if so, the field is not less than 2,936,166 square miles.

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The labors of the missionaries were not confined to any particular section of the country, as the following summary for 1860, shows:—

New England.—Schools *organized*, 173, having 1,034 teachers, 6,812 scholars; schools *aided*, 569, containing 4,185 teachers and 40,350 scholars.

Middle States.—Schools *organized*, 198, containing 1,394 teachers and 8,294 scholars; schools aided, 293, containing 3,764 teachers and 24,222 scholars.

Southern States.—Schools *organized*, 368, containing 2,990 teachers and 18,279 scholars; schools aided, 397, containing 2,836 teachers and 22,027 scholars.

Western States.—Schools *organized*, 1,352, containing 8,807 teachers and 49,893 scholars; schools aided, 2,442, containing 19,570 teachers and 128,569 scholars.

The State Sabbath-school Union of New Hampshire was formed in Concord on the 9th day of September, 1824.

Religious denominations, as such, have paid no attention almost to Sabbath school statistics. Our notice, therefore, of the progress of this system of education, must be confined chiefly to the different unions and societies; and to many of these, even, we have not had access. In the school established by Bishop Asbury, in 1784, there was a young lad who, through the teaching he received there, was brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. He devoted himself to the work of the ministry—became a Methodist preacher, and labored in the cause of his Master for forty years with great faithfulness. We are sorry that we cannot ascertain his name. How much good may have been accomplished by that one minister who was brought to a knowledge of the Saviour in that Sabbath-school! There was then *one* school and twenty scholars. At the same time there were 20,000 members in the M. E. Church —one scholar to each thousand members! In 1853, there were 9,074 schools, 98,031 teachers, 504,679 scholars, 1,402-010 volumes in libraries, 7,213 Bible classes, 45,632 scholars in infant classes; and the expenses of the schools amounted

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to $69,093. In 1858 there were 646,000 children in the Sabbath-schools, and 768,000 members in the church. The Sabbath-school of this church has increased one thousand fold more than its membership! The average annual increase for the ten years preceding 1858, was for the church, 30,000; for the Sabbath-school, 35,000.

The latest statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Sabbath-schools in New England are as follows:—Schools, 1,121; officers and teachers, 14,122; scholars, 87,232; volumes in library, 306,832; Bible classes, 2,658; conversions, 1,908; expenses of all schools, $12,987; amount raised by the Sabbath-school Union, $1,507.

The number of scholars attending the Sabbath-schools connected with the fourteen denominations in Saint Louis amounts to 4,526.

At the Fifth Annual Convention of the Sabbath-school Teachers of the State of New York, held at Schenectady on the 7th, 8th and 9th of August, 1860, the State Secretary reported 61,401 teachers, 350,787 scholars and 4,297 conversions. The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the New York Sabbath-School Union gives the following statistics: Schools, 213; whole number of scholars received during the the year, 62,402; scholars now on register, 45,000; whole number in attendance, 30,292; teachers and officers, 4,869; scholars of the congregations, 33,105; conversions, 458. Through the kindness of R. G. Pardee, Esq., who prepared them, the following statistics of the City of New York have been put into my hand:—Population according to the census of 1860, 814,277; children between five and fifteen years of age, 150,896; Sabbath-schools, 307; children in the Sabbath-schools, 70,300; children not in the Sabbath-schools, 80,519. It is estimated that there are 100,000 neglected children in the city of New York at the present time, and in the whole State not less than 700,000.

Owing to the fact already stated, that very few Sabbath-schools, comparatively, report to any Union or Society, it is difficult to ascertain how many children are now attending the Sabbath-school in the United States. They are variously estimated from 1,800,000 to 3,000,000. Our

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only guide on this subject is the "Census." According to the census of 1850, there were children (white) under one year of age, 537,661; one and under five, 2,358,797; between five and twenty, 7,234,973; total, 10,131,431.

Now, if we deduct two millions, being a very liberal allowance, who were not able from age and other causes to attend school, we will have 8,131,431 who should have been receiving education. But the number attending day-schools, as "returned by families," both white and free colored, was 4,089,597. The schools only returned 3,354,011; add to this the number returned as attending academies and private schools, and we have 3,644,928 in all. This falls nearly 400,000 below the returns made by families. But let us take the latter as the more correct. Then we have 4,041,834 who are not, but should be receiving instruction. And supposing that we have as many attending our Sabbath-schools as are attending our public and private schools and academies, then we have more than *four millions of children* who are not receiving religious instruction in our Sabbath-schools. The late Secretary of the American Sabbath-school Union estimates the number at 5,000,000.

We cannot close without noticing the National Convention of Sabbath-School Teachers, which was held at Jayne's Hall, Philadelphia, on the 22d, 23d and 24th of February, 1859. A convention of New York Sabbath-School Teachers, held in Brooklyn, on the 5th of October, 1858, recommended the holding of a National Convention in Philadelphia. Accordingly a call was issued and the Convention assembled at the time and place specified above. Delegates were present from almost every State in the Union. The Convention was called to order by George H. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia, a world-renowned and munificent philanthropist, and, with all his foibles, a worthy man, much of whose time and princely fortune have been devoted to the cause of sabbatical education in the home fields of Christianity, and the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ among the heathen abroad. A temporary organization was effected by the appointment of Professor John S. Hart, of Philadelphia, chairman, and J. P. Tustin, Esq., of Washington, secretary. A

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committee was then appointed to nominate permanent officers for the Convention, and on their recommendation our worthy and excellent friend, the HON. JAMES POLLOCK, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, and now Master of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, was unanimously chosen President. We regret very much that our space prevents us from giving the inaugural address of Governor Pollock at length. It is a model for Christian statesmen and rulers of every land. A few extracts must suffice. After returning thanks to the Convention for the honor conferred, Governor Pollock said:—

"We have assembled here, not as a local, sectional, or sectarian convention—not to advance the cause of a political party, nor to elevate to power and place those who may aspire to official distinction—no, no; the objects of this Convention differ far from these. This Convention is *national* in its organization; *Christian* in its aims and objects—designed to promote the honor of Him who rules the world in righteousness—whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and of whose dominion there is no end."

Referring to the birth-day of the Father of his country, the Governor gives vent to his Christian patriotism thus:

"How fitting, how appropriate that the National Convention of Teachers and Superintendents and of the Friends of Sabbath-schools should meet on this day, a day crowded with pleasant memories, full of patriotic and Christian associations! Washington! his birth, his life, his death—how it thrills the heart of every American citizen, and from its deepest recesses awakens emotions full of patriotism, full of Christianity!"

He contends for the use of the Bible, both in the week-day and Sabbath-school in the following language:

"That system of education, whether in church or state which ignores the Bible and shuts out from the child and the school its teachings and its truths *is a blank!* It is a madman's dream, a chaos wild and void, with no spirit brooding over its deep darkness to reduce its discordant elements to order, harmony and beauty."

Referring to the activities and progress of the age, and the great part that our youth must take in present move-

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ments before they shall have been consummated, he says:—

"Whither tends the age in its rushing, restless, resistless progress? Who, who shall direct its course? What power shall chain its energies and activities to the car of God's eternal truth, and thus, with accelerated speed, move it onward and forward, amid songs more triumphant than when the morning stars first sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy? *Mind,* educated mind—mind energized by the spirit and power of divine truth, and sustained by Him who made mind immortal, must coöperate with Omnipotent power to produce this result. For weal or for woe, the youthful mind of America must act its part in this great drama, and share the responsibilities of the present and the future."

The whole proceedings were characterized by a spirit of harmony and Christian feeling. A series of twenty-eight resolutions "covering a wide field," and "in some respects stringent and searching" were adopted with great cordiality. The resolutions will give a good idea of the character and spirit of the meeting:

1. That we regard the Sabbath-school, in connection with the teachings of the family and the pulpit, reliable as an agency for bringing the entire youth of our country under the saving influence of the gospel.

2. That the Sabbath-school teacher's *love of his work* is an indispensable requisite to his labor; without which it will degenerate into a mere formality, destitute alike of life, assiduity and success.

3. That the Sabbath-school teacher's thorough *preparatory study of his weekly lesson* is demanded both by his own wants and those of his class; as without such preparation he can rarely, if ever, rise to the proper fitness for teaching, or secure the respect, attention and profitable instruction of those whom he teaches.

4. That the Sabbath-school teacher's rigid *punctuality in his attendance* is essential to the good order of the school, and to the formation of the same habit in his scholars; while the want of it is an example of truancy to them; a disturbance of the arrangements of the school, and a vexation of spirit to those who are appointed to rule over it.

5. That there is a continual obligation resting on every teacher, *to preserve order in his own class;* as a matter needful to the quiet of the whole school, and for the best action of his own mind on the lesson during teaching, and especially for the reception of instruction on the

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part of his scholars; the want of which is demoralising to the class, destructive to the influence of teaching, and detrimental to the order of the school.

6. That every teacher should feel under strong obligations *fully to occupy the time* of every session that is devoted to instruction; employing it, if possible, in the topics of the lesson under examination, or in such ways as will interest fully, and instruct wisely, those committed to his charge—remembering that the waste minutes of Sabbath-school hours are the seed time when Satan sows for a speedy harvest of mischief and sin.

7. That the success of every teacher will depend much on his frequent friendly and Christian *visitation of his scholars;* thus availing himself of the sympathy of parents and children, begetting a reciprocal kindness, exciting his own interest in duty, and preparing the soil of the heart for the proper culture of Sabbath-school instruction.

8. That we regard the Sabbath-school teacher's *example in all the walks of life*, as an influence for good or evil which should admonish him to continual well-doing, that his light may so shine before men, that they seeing his good works may glorify our Father which is in heaven.

9. That the sentiment of Sabbath-school teachers, as well as of the church, in regard to the *early conversion of children*, falls far below Bible history and Bible teaching; and that teachers in all their instructions should keep this object steadily in view, as the great and only truly satisfactory result of their labor.

10. That we recognize, in its fullest and most absolute sense, the *necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit*, for the instruction, conversion and sanctification of the children of our schools; and would earnestly urge upon every teacher to "be instant in prayer," that this chief want may be supplied from the infinite stores of God's fullness.

11. That a weekly meeting of Sabbath-school teachers, for prayer and the study of the lesson, is a needful appendage of every school.

12. That we recognize the position of a Sabbath-school superintendent, as next in importance and responsibility to that of the minister of the gospel; and that we therefore regard sincere piety, earnest zeal, unremitting effort, sound discretion, steadfast patience, courteous demeanor, and aptness to teach, as qualifications needful for the proper performance of the duties of this office.

13. That we recommend to Sabbath-schools, as an important measure for the acquisition, as well as the retention of religious knowledge, reviews of the lessons at proper periods.

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14. That we earnestly recommend the organization of Associations of Sabbath-school teachers in our cities and towns, for stated seasons of prayer and discussion, as a means of adding materially to the efficiency of the system, to be so conducted as not to infringe upon any denominational peculiarities.

15. That we recommend the holding of State and County Conventions of Sabbath-school teachers, as eminently calculated to promote Christian fellowship, to collect information, to devise plans of action, and to stimulate zeal in the cause.

16. That we recommend the establishment, by individual subscription, of local Depositories of Sabbath-school publications.

17. That we regard the common want of preparation by the scholars of their Sabbath-school lessons, as highly detrimental to success in teaching, and one which parents and teachers should diligently seek to remove.

18. That we regard with regret the present common deficiency in our schools, in the matter of committing thoroughly to memory the word of God; and desire to express our conviction that the present and future blessed results of teaching would be immeasurably increased by such acquisitions of Holy Writ.

19. That we hail with pleasure the increasing spirit of systematic benevolence in Sabbath-schools, and urge its extension as important in a high degree to the formation of habits of voluntary beneficence among children, as well as for the present and future blessed effects of such contributions.

20. That the objects of the Sabbath-school, in its intellectual, moral and religious advantages, are such as should secure the attendance of grown-up youth of both sexes, and that pastors, parents and teachers should aim to secure that result as needful for the best success of the institution.

21. That we regard with great regret the neglect into which children in many places are allowed to fall, in reference to the habit of attendance upon public worship; and desire that teachers should avail themselves of their position and influence to correct this evil.

22. That the establishment of Mission Sabbath-schools, in city and country, in their influence in elevating the social, moral and religious character of parents and children, otherwise destitute of Christian attention and religious instruction, meets with our hearty approbation; and ought to be greatly extended, so as to meet, if possible, the necessity of all in our land who are ready to perish for "lack of knowledge."

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23. That the duty and office of the Sabbath-school teacher can in no wise supersede the duties or relations of the Christian parent to his child, or those of a Christian minister to his church; but should be regarded as the efficient auxiliary of both.

24. That this Convention recommend that congregations, as far as practicable, be organized into classes in connection with Sabbath-schools, for the study of the Bible.

25. That from the very nature of the case our Sabbath-schools do imperatively need, and have the right to expect, at all times, the watchful care and supervision of the pastor, whose counsel, sympathy and confidence are pre-eminently due to our Sabbath-schools.

26. That the Sabbath-school system demands of the membership of our churches more cordial encouragement, pecuniary support, and personal service, than it has yet received, and which it must have in order to its proper and full success.

27. That it be recommended to the American Sabbath-School Union, to revise or reconstruct the volumes of Union Questions now published by them—also to consider the practicability and utility of publishing a Youth's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures.

28. That we affectionately ask pastors and Sabbath-school superintendents, throughout the United States, to read the foregoing resolutions to their respective congregations and schools, at their earliest convenient opportunity.

We can in the main indorse these resolutions, and have placed them on record in a permanent form in order that they may be easy of access to those who may desire to drink into the spirit of this Convention, which, no doubt, has inaugurated a new era in the history of Sabbath-schools in the United States of America.

It is estimated by Mr. C. F. W. Deitterich, a statistician and director of the Statistical Department of Berlin, that the population of the world amounts, at the present time, to *one thousand three hundred millions*, (1,300,000,000.) These are classified according to their religious creeds as follows: —Asiatic religions, 600,000,000, or about forty-six per cent.; the Christian religion, 335,000,000, or about 25 per cent.; the Jewish religion, 5,000,000, or 0.38 per cent.; Pagans, 200,000,000, or about fifteen per cent.; Mohammedans, 160,000,000, or about twelve per cent. The three hundred

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and thirty-five millions of Christians are sub-divided again into Roman Catholics, 170,000,000, or 50.7 per cent.; Protestants 80,000,000, or 26.6 per cent.; Greek Catholics, 76,000,000, or 22.7 per cent, Whilst the aggregate, we believe, is as near the truth as it is possible to reach, yet, the sub-divisions are not the best that might have been made, nor are they in every case correct. The aggregate, however, is sufficient for our purpose. It is assumed that there is *one million* (1,000,000) of Sabbath-school teachers in the world. Now, if we allow eight scholars to every teacher, which is perhaps as near the truth as we can come, then there are only 8,000,000 of children who are receiving religious instruction in the Sabbath-school. Supposing, again, that the one-third of these one thousand three hundred millions are capable of, and should be, receiving religious instruction in the Sabbath-school, then we have only one teacher for every 433 children. If we add to the one million of S. S. teachers, the 1,500 Protestant missionaries, said to be laboring in different parts of the world, it will reduce the proportion somewhat, but still the number of teachers will be vastly disproportionate to the number of children.

Much has yet to be done for the secular and religious education of our youth. With the exception of Denmark, the United States have a larger proportion of their population at school than any other country in the world. It is nevertheless a recorded fact, that according to the census of 1850 there were in these United States 1,053,420 persons over twenty years of age who could neither read nor write, or about one-eighteenth of the whole white population. Some will say, Oh! these are only Irish, Dutch and Darkies. But not so fast, we will give you the figures. They were not all foreign born, nor are they all the unfortunate descendents of Ham. Of these there were only 195,114 of foreign birth, leaving 858,306 of native born, over twenty years, who could neither read nor write.

Now, with all the facilities for learning which we enjoy, there are many growing up in our midst who will never receive such an education as will enable them to search the Scriptures of divine truth, unless they receive it in the

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Sabbath-school; and many more who will never have a thirst for education until that thirst is first created in the Sabbath-school. The Sabbath has frequently proved to be a training or recruiting class for the common school, and in it many a wicked and thoughtless boy has received the first impulse that sent him on a brilliant career of usefulness and renown. There is much land yet to possess, let us go up and possess it. There are many rough and youthful stones in the quarry of nature that only require to be carved and polished in the Sabbath-school until they become fit to be inserted in the spiritual building. Let us use every effort in our power to bring them to Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Children are the hope of the church. Like Moses, they may yet become her deliverer. The Sabbath-school exerts a most salutary influence in the formation of the youthful character. Previous to the experiment of Raikes, the children in Glos'ter were like *demons;* in a year they were transformed into *lambs.* Sabbath-school Teacher! yours is a work of mercy, love and benevolence. You are gathering up children in the world's desert who have wandered from their father's house, and conducting them to their home and their parents. You are preparing them for being transplanted to a soil more congenial to sanctified nature—to the banks of the river of life that flows through the Paradise of God:—where, beneath the glowing heat of the Sun of Righteousness—amid the songs of the redeemed and the lyric strains of angels they will "redden in their bloom and flourish in *immortal youth.*"

NOTE.—The following was received too late to be inserted in its proper place:—Returns, says Rev. J. R. M'Alister, of Armagh, from 126 congregations of the Irish General Assembly, give 208 Sabbath-schools; 21,000 children; average attendance, 14,521; teachers, 1,830. Seventy schools have from 40 to 600 vols. each. Taking these returns as a basis, there are in the whole church 852 schools; 86,000 scholars, and 7,500 teachers.

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Article II.—Exposition of Psalm xvi. 8–11.

In an interview which our Lord had with his disciples after the resurrection, he said unto them, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms concerning me." We have, therefore, the testimony of the faithful and true Witness himself, that the person and work of our Lord and Saviour constitute the great subject of the Book of Psalms. It has been said with no less beauty than force, that this precious portion of the word of God, "appears to have been the manual of the Son of God, in the days of his flesh; who, at the conclusion of his last supper, is generally supposed, and that on good grounds, to have sung a hymn taken from it; who pronounced on the cross the beginning of the twenty-second Psalm, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and expired with a part of the thirty-first Psalm in his mouth, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit.' Thus He who had not the Spirit by measure, in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude his life and solace himself in his greatest agony, and at last to breathe out his soul in the Psalmist's form of words rather than his own. No tongue of man or angel can convey a higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who use it aright."

Of our blessed Lord it is said, by the apostle, that "in the days of his flesh, he offered up prayers with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard, in that he feared." And in the Psalm before us we have an interesting example of one of those prayers which the Spirit of prophecy puts into the mouth of the

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suffering Messiah. In the midst of the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, his prayer to the Father in the beginning of the Psalm is, "Preserve me, O God, for in thee do I trust." From the testimony of the Apostle Peter in his sermon on the day of Pentecost, we know that the latter part of this Psalm relates to Christ; and as there is no change of person from beginning to end, the principles of correct exegesis would seem to require that he should be regarded as the speaker throughout the Psalm. And while the language of the Psalm in some instances would be appropriate in the mouth of one of his followers, there are at the same time some things said which are true in their application to the Messiah alone. Speaking of the resurrection of Christ, the apostle says, "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." Acts ii. 24. And then by a reference to this Psalm he proceeds to show that this important event was distinctly foretold by the Spirit of prophecy. "For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before me; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved." In this Psalm, then, we have the language which the Spirit of prophecy puts into the mouth of the Messiah during the period of his humiliation. In the prospect of the overwhelming sufferings which he was about to endure, in accomplishing the work of our redemption, he committed his cause to God, and looked to him for support. And thus he has set us an example that we should follow his steps. "I have set the Lord always before me." During the days of his humiliation, when he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, such was the burden which he had to bear, when the Lord laid upon him the iniquity of us all; and such was the agony of soul which he experienced when he was made a curse for us, that he was led to exclaim, "Now is my soul troubled and what shall I say?" So terrific was the prospect before him, that his humanity gives utterance to the prayer, "Father, save me from this hour." But then, looking unto God as his strong rock, and exercising submission to his will, he adds, "But for this cause came I unto this hour." And reposing

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unshaken confidence in the sustaining care of his Father, he set the Lord before him, and went forward with unfaltering step through the scenes of suffering that awaited him. "Because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved."

In anticipation of the glorious results of his humiliation, sufferings, and death, the Messiah gives utterance to the joy of his heart. "Therefore, my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth," (ver. 9.) The apostle informs us, that stimulated by the prospect of "the joy that was set before him," our Lord "endured the cross, despising the shame." And his example is commended to our imitation. "Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame." Heb. xii. 2. While he was despised and rejected of men, his prayer to his Father was, "Father, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." And in anticipation of the honor and glory with which he should be crowned, when brought triumphantly through his sufferings, he should see of the travail of his soul and should be satisfied, his heart was glad and his glory rejoiced. The expression in the Psalm, "my glory rejoiceth," the apostle explains by saying, "my *tongue* was glad." The tongue may be said to be the glory of man, inasmuch as it is by this member of the body that we give vocal expression to our praise.

Though in accomplishing the work of man's redemption it was necessary that the Son of God should lay down his life and descend into the grave, yet he confidently anticipated a complete victory over death. And, therefore, in the assured hope of a glorious resurrection, he adds, "My flesh also shall rest in hope." The hope of the resurrection which is here expressed in general terms, is more minutely unfolded in the following verse. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption," (verse 10.)

Our translation of the former part of this verse, is calculated to lead to a very erroneous view of its import. The English word *hell*, as now employed, is always significant

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of the place of the future punishment of the wicked. And a mistaken interpretation of this passage has given rise to various fanciful speculations relative to the condition of the human soul of Christ, and the manner in which it was employed during the time his body remained in the grave. But it should be kept in mind that in uttering these words, the Spirit of prophecy "spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither did his flesh see corruption." Acts ii. 31. And, consequently, these words do not relate to the soul, which has no part in the resurrection, but to the body of Christ.

Among lexicographers there is some diversity of opinion with regard to the import of the root from which the Hebrew term *sheol*, which is here translated hell, is derived. Some suppose that it is derived from a root which signifies to crave or ask; and that it conveys an allusion to the voraciousness of the grave, which is never satisfied, but still craves additional victims. "The grave (*sheol*) saith not, it is enough." Prov. xxx. 15. Others derive the noun from a root which signifies "*to be hollow*," describing the grave as an excavation in the earth. But let the import of the root be what it may, the word itself is very commonly, and more properly translated *grave*. But when thus translated, the term grave is employed not in the sense of the burial-place of a particular individual, but in a general sense as descriptive of the state into which departed souls enter. *Keber* is the word which designates the grave of a particular individual, as in the phrase "Rachel's grave." Gen. xxxv. 20. When the bloody coat of Joseph was brought to his father, the venerable Jacob exclaimed, "It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. I will go down into the grave (*sheol*) unto my son mourning." Gen. xxxvii. 35. Jacob did not suppose that the body of Joseph was in a grave, but that it had been devoured by an evil beast. And, therefore, when he said, "I shall go down into the grave unto my son mourning," he did not intend to convey the idea, that he would join his son in the grave, but that he would follow him into the state of the dead. In the same general

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sense, the English word grave is often employed by us; as in the phrase, "a voice from the grave;" that is, from the invisible world. And such is the import of the Hebrew word which is here translated "hell." And, accordingly, the authors of the Septuagint in their translation, as well as the Apostle Peter, in his quotation from this Psalm, employ the word *Hades*, which in the Greek language signifies the invisible world; the state into which departed souls enter.

The original word *nephesh*, here rendered soul, does not signify the immortal part of our nature as distinct from the body, and evidently is not to be understood as having reference to the soul properly so called; because, as the apostle informs us, the affirmation here made has respect to the resurrection. The word is derived from a root which signifies to breathe; and the noun is employed in the sense of "breath," "life," "an animal," "a person." And in the poetic parts of Scripture, more especially, it is often employed instead of the pronoun, to designate the person; neither the soul nor the body as distinct the one from the other, but the individual. As, for example, "Many there be which say of my soul" (that is, of me) "there is no help for him in God." Psalm iii. 2. "In the Lord put I my trust; how say ye to my soul" (that is, to me) "flee as a bird to your mountain?" Psalm xi. 1. Examples of this kind might be multiplied to any extent. And such is the sense in which the term is to be understood in the passage before us, In the close of the preceding verse the Messiah, in general terms, expresses his confidence that his flesh should rest in the hope of a joyful resurrection. And in these words he states the ground on which his confidence reposed; that is, the assurance which he had that he should not be left under the power of the grave—"For thou wilt not leave me in the state of the dead."

The correctness of this interpretation will be more apparent when viewed in connection with the following clause of the verse: "Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." The phrase "Holy One" is here employed

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to designate the person, and more particularly the humanity of our Lord. In the days of his humiliation he appeared in "the likeness of sinful flesh;" but still his holy nature remained uncontaminated by sin. The Lord laid upon him the iniquity of us all; yet, he knew no sin; he was holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sinners. Accordingly the angel who announced to his virgin mother the birth of our Lord addresses her in these words: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." Luke i. 35.

In the verse under consideration we have an example of the Hebrew parallelism which is of frequent occurrence in the poetical parts of Scripture, according to which the same general idea is expressed in the different clauses of the same verse, the latter clause being in some degree exegetical of the former. As, for example, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near." Isaiah lv. 6. Here the same duty is inculcated in the two different forms of expression—"Seek ye the Lord;" "Call ye upon him." And a corresponding argument to enforce the duty is presented in the different clauses of the verse—"While he may be found;" "While he is near." And in the verse under consideration the Redeemer, in the first place, expresses his confidence in general terms that he should not be left under the power of death—"Thou wilt not leave me in the state of the dead." And then, in the latter clause of the verse, his hope is more definitely expressed that he should not remain in the state of the dead until corruption should take place—"Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." Not only does he express his confidence that he should not be left finally in the invisible state, but that his holy body should not remain in the state of the dead so long that it should undergo corruption. And accordingly this hope was realized. For early on the morning of the third day after his crucifixion, before corruption had taken place, the body of our Lord escaped from the confines of the grave, and, united to his holy soul, ascended to the

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realms of light, of glory, and blessedness. And in the language of triumph, anticipating the joy that was set before him, the Redeemer exclaims, in the conclusion of the Psalm, "Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in thy presence is fullness of joy; at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore."

The correctness of our interpretation of this Psalm will more fully appear when we examine it in the light of the apostle's commentary. After introducing these verses in proof of the resurrection of Christ, the apostle proceeds to illustrate their bearing upon the subject. Addressing his Jewish brethren, who were familiar with the lively Oracles, he says: "Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day." Acts ii. 29. As though he had said, "It might be supposed from a superficial view of these words that they relate to David himself. But if you will inquire into their import you will readily perceive that there are things here affirmed which are not true in application to the venerable patriarch. Not only is David long since dead, but his body still remains under the power of death. He was buried; the place of his sepulchre is known, and his body has long since experienced corruption in the grave. But these words relate to one whose flesh rested in hope that, though it was necessary that he should die, yet, he should not be left in the state of the dead until his body should experience corruption in the grave; though he must enter the tomb, yet, from the dark confines of the grave the path of life should be opened up before him, and he should ascend to his Father, in whose presence there is fullness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore. These words, then, do not apply to the literal king of Israel, but exclusively to Him whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it."

In the conclusion of these expository remarks, I would observe—

1. As there is nothing said in this Psalm with regard to

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the soul of our Lord as distinct from the body, we can learn nothing from what the Spirit has here revealed, as to the condition of the soul or the manner in which it was employed during the time the body remained in the grave. A mistaken interpretation of this Psalm, in connection with other portions of the sacred Scriptures, has given rise to various fanciful speculations on this subject. From a misconception of the import of the original Hebrew terms, *nephesh* and *sheol*, unhappily rendered "soul" and "hell," some have been led to adopt the fanciful notion that, during the time our Lord remained under the power of death, his soul visited the place of the future punishment of the wicked. The object of this visit is differently represented by different theorists, all their fond imaginations being equally unfounded. Not only do such speculations derive no support from this Psalm, when correctly interpreted, but they are utterly inconsistent with other plain declarations of the word of God. When our blessed Lord was suspended upon the cross and was about to expire, he gave to the penitent thief the assurance, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." And when about to give up the ghost, he committed his departing spirit to the care of his Father, saying, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." It is plain, then, that during the period of separation between the soul and body of our Lord, while the body slumbered in the tomb, his immortal spirit was in the enjoyment of ineffable felicity, in paradise, in the presence of his Father.

2. As our blessed Redeemer, in the prospect of his overwhelming sufferings, set the Lord before him, and confidently looked to him for support, it is the privilege of the humble believer, in all his trials, to commit his cause to him, whose promise is, "As thy days, so shall thy strength be." Though weak and helpless in himself, the humblest child of God may confidently say, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Then, "cast thy burden on the Lord, and he shall sustain thee; he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved." "He giveth power to the faint and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be

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weary, and the young men shall utterly fall; but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint."

3. As our blessed Lord, in the prospect of death, looked forward, with confident hope and joyful expectation to a triumphant resurrection, so may the believer rest in hope, that this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality. For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

Article III.—The History of the Synod of Dort.

The Synod of Dort met at Dort, or Dortrecht, in South Holland, on the 18th of November, 1618. It was convened by the States General of Federated Belgium, to settle some controversies which were disturbing the peace of the churches; and, in consequence of the union between the Church and the State, was threatening also to disturb the peace of the confederacy.

The Apostles of Christ, in their preaching and in their writings, satisfied themselves with plain statements of the truths of the Gospel as they found them taught in the Scriptures, and rarely troubled themselves with the *hows* and the *whys*, which in later times have engaged so much of the attention of Theologians. The nature of that divine

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gracious operation, which converts the soul from sin to God, had not come to be critically examined. Having an unwavering confidence in the divine testimony, they embraced with all confidence whatever they found written in the word of God, and never thought of corroborating the testimony of God, or of confirming their own faith or the faith of others in it, by the deductions of human science or philosophy. With them, "Thus it was written," was entirely sufficient. The objections of unbelief, the quibbles of the subtle disputer of this world, were met and refuted by simply shewing what is taught in the word, which was held to be, and proved and known to be, mighty through God to cast down the imaginations of men.

In that *age of faith* it never came into any one's mind that there is any difficulty in believing that salvation is wholly of the Lord, or that human power is utterly impotent to convert the soul, and yet that the sinner perishes by his own fault. And to this day, it is quite as difficult to show that there is any real or apparent inconsistency between these truths as it would be to reconcile them, if it were taken for granted that the inconsistency exists.

This state of things, which existed during the days of the apostles, continued for some ages after the last apostle had gone to his rest. Unsound doctrine was indeed sometimes taught; but, in general, by such as soon showed, both by their spirit and their works, that they were not of the household of faith. They went out from Christ's disciples because they were not of them. And no doubt, by reason of that infirmity which cleaves to the best of men, erroneous views of divine truth were sometimes embraced and taught; the mind of the Spirit speaking in the word was not always clearly perceived; but we have no evidence of the existence of any unsound system of Theology which was embraced and had its advocates in the churches. Errors on particular subjects, and some of them indeed very gross, occasionally appeared; but they were of an isolated character, and did not make part and parcel of any erroneous system. And

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this was in general the state of things during the first four centuries.

But, according to ecclesiastical historians, about the year 410, two monks—Pelagius and Caelestius—the one a Briton and the other a native of Ireland, began to innovate on the commonly-received faith of the Church. They "looked upon the doctrines which were generally received, concerning the original corruption of human nature, and the necessity of divine grace to enlighten the understanding and purify the heart, as prejudicial to the progress of holiness and virtue, and tending to lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal security." They maintained that these doctrines were as false as they were pernicious; that the sin of our first parents was imputed to them alone, and not to their posterity; that we derive no corruption from their downfall, but are born as pure and unspotted as Adam came out of the forming hand of his Creator: that mankind, therefore, are capable of repentance and amendment, and arriving at the highest degrees of piety and virtue by the use of their natural faculties and powers; that, indeed, external grace is necessary to excite their endeavors, but that they have no need of the internal succors of the divine Spirit.

Now, hear a passing remark or two: 1. The objections which these monks, who are admitted to have been men of talent and discrimination, brought against the received doctrine of the Church in their day, show, by way of contrast, what that doctrine was. 2. The objections which they bring against the faith of the Churches in their day are not unlike the objections which, in our day, are brought by some men against the Theological system, of which they give Calvin the credit of having been the author.

Augustine was the great opponent of Pelagius and his coadjutors. His views of Theology were, in general, the same with those which are contained in the standards of the Presbyterian churches of the present day. But, though a man of talent, he was an ardent and adventurous controversialist; and, as is common with such men, not always consistent with himself. Starting out from some unguarded statements which he had made, or from some strong

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positions which he had taken, without having properly qualified his language, a party arose which went to a hurtful extreme in their opposition to Pelagianism. A desire to get away as far as possible from some opinion which has been branded as erroneous, or has by some means been rendered odious, has been a fruitful source of error and division in the Church. Just at this time it would not be difficult to adduce facts in proof of this assertion. From some opinions which he advanced in reference to the necessity of Divine grace in order to the salvation of men, and the decrees of God as fixing the future conditions of men, certain monks took occasion to teach that "God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to the guilt and transgression for which they are punished; and that thus, both the good and bad actions of all men, were determined from all eternity, and fixed by an invincible necessity." There is nothing new under the sun. In modern times some men, by launching out into the ocean of speculation, and neglecting to take with them the "sure word of prophecy" as their compass and their chart, have pushed to the same hurtful extreme, the doctrine of Divine decrees as held for many years by the Protestant Churches; or, in other words, the doctrine of Paul, and Augustine, and Calvin. These are sometimes distinguished by the name of hyper-Calvinists, or fatalists. Augustine, having lessened the influence of the Pelagians, had to set himself in opposition to this perversion of his doctrines, or this new perversion of the doctrine of the Scriptures.

But there soon appeared another scheme of doctrine which obtained the name of Semi-Pelagianism. It seems to have been the work of men who desired to take some middle ground, which would reconcile the opposing parties. According to this view, "*inward preventing* grace is not necessary to form in the soul the *beginning* of repentance and amendment of life: every one is capable of producing these, by the mere exercise of his natural faculties, as also of exercising faith in Christ, and of forming purposes of a sincere and holy obedience, though afterwards all need the

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support and assistance of Divine grace in order to their perseverance in the way of holiness." A scheme of doctrine, not altogether unlike this, prevails pretty extensively in our country at the present day; and there are reform, tract, and missionary associations which are largely under the control of men who have ranked among its advocates.

In many respects this scheme of doctrine was so well adapted to the modes of thinking which prevailed amongst those who were not well instructed in the oracles of God, and was so little humbling to human pride that it spread extensively in the churches.

The *age of ecclesiastical authority* now commenced. Men submitted their understandings and their consciences to the authority of the church. Nothing was suffered to pass for orthodoxy, unless it had received the sanction of the Pope, and a council which was under his control. He was the orthodox believer, who believed as the church believed; and it belonged to the Pope and his counsellors, to declare what was the faith of the church. If there were few controversies; if the church was little troubled with sects; in one word, if "Catholic unity" everywhere prevailed, it was such a unity as may always be expected to exist among unthinking masses of human beings who suffer themselves to be governed by despotic power.

At the Reformation a state of things similar to that which existed in the days of the apostles was reproduced. As the guides of the Jewish Church had departed from the truth and simplicity of the Scripture doctrine, and had taught the people to regard the opinions of the Rabbis, and the tradition of the elders, of such high authority, that the ultimate appeal should be to them, the apostles, having forsaken Judaism and embraced Christianity, had the high, holy, and imperative duty to perform, of restoring the Scriptures to their proper place and authority in the church. No longer was it to be the question, What did this or the other renowned teacher say? but, What saith the Scripture? So it was in the Reformation. With the reformers, the decrees of councils, and the opinions of the fathers, were of no

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weight, any farther than they agreed with the Scriptures. The testimony of God, not the testimony of the church, was the ground of faith. The *age of faith* was restored. Carlyle is not altogether correct in saying that it was only among the Puritans of Britain that "Protestantism became a faith." It was "a faith" among thousands in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and even in France. Hence, for some time there was a great degree of harmony of belief among the Reformed Churches of Europe, as we expect to show in the sequel. Much of the care and pains which we of the present day have to employ in defining articles of faith, could well be spared if the age of faith were once more restored. But, as soon as the Protestants, or leading men among them, began to speculate on the doctrines of Christianity, desiring to improve the faith of the church by the aid of "philosophy, falsely so called," the Scriptures not having their proper influence on their minds, doctrinal disputes began to abound. The Synod of Dort was called to consider the doctrinal innovations which produced the first serious disturbance of the previously existing harmony. In giving its history, our chief authority is the history of its doings, and of the preceding events which rendered its convocation necessary, as published with the sanction of the States General, the Stadtholder, and the Synod itself.

James Arminius, pastor of the principal church in Amsterdam, a bold, adventurous, and talented man, and withal fond of whatever had the air of novelty, made the first attack on the doctrines of the Reformed Churches of Belgium. He began by privately assailing the reputation of the most renowned reformers, such as Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, etc., in order that, by lessening their influence, he might exalt his own. Next he began to disseminate views not altogether unlike those of the ancient Pelagians. Against the wishes and remonstrances of many of his brethren, who dreaded the consequences, he was appointed Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden. For a time his Presbytery refused to grant him a dismission, lest he should diffuse his opinions more extensively from the theological chair. At length, however, they consented, on the condition, that he

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would give satisfaction to his brethren, that he would teach nothing contrary to the received doctrines of the church, which he accordingly did. Having entered on the discharge of his duties as Professor of Theology, he for a time studied to allay suspicions as to his orthodoxy. But it was not long till he began to call in question many doctrines which were taught in Protestant pulpits. Those of his brethren who were his special friends, and were much in his company, began to boast that they had obtained new light, and had renounced some of their former opinions. His pupils began to dispute against the received doctrines of the church. The pastors who were concerned for the peace of the church and for the preservation of sound doctrine, represented to him the rumors which were afloat concerning his heterodoxy, and the necessity of his having a conference with some of his brethren specially appointed for the purpose, that, if there were no ground for them, all suspicions might be removed. This he declined. He was next admonished by some persons who occupied high positions in the State, the University, and the Church, that he should enter into a friendly conference with his colleagues, before the Presbytery of Leyden, on those doctrines of the church which he disapproved. This he also declined, alleging that it could be of no use.

It would occupy much space, and be of no benefit to the reader, to notice all the attempts which were made to induce him to enter into a free conference with his brethren, that they might know exactly what opinions he held, and might be able, if they themselves were satisfied, to satisfy the public mind that he held no serious errors. He evaded everything of the kind; at one time, by saying that he was not prepared; at another, that no good results could be expected; at still another, that it should be deferred till the meeting of the Provincial Synod, or of a National Synod, which had begun to be spoken of.

In the meantime, the number of his followers was continually increasing. Many of those who went forth from the Seminary under his care, though for a time they used ambiguous language not to startle their hearers, began to

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boast that they had many things to allege against the received doctrines of the church; or, in other words, against the doctrines contained in the Belgic Confession of Faith. As time advanced, one pastor after another was drawn over to his party. This made him more confident, and increased his boldness in propagating his opinions. In a discourse before the "lords of the states" he gave at full length his views of the evil tendency of the received doctrines, assailing them in the same opprobrious language which has often since, by his followers, been applied to the doctrines of Augustine, Calvin, and Knox. Soon the party attached to him began to imitate his example, and to rail against the received doctrines of the church as "horrible and detestable." Thus strengthened, he consented to a conference with his colleague Gomarus, which was to be held before the "Illustrious the States." The opinions of the respective parties were, however, to be sealed and laid before a Provincial Synod which was soon after to be called. But he and his party still used their influence with the men in power to prevent the calling of such an assembly. In the meantime his health began to decline, and afterwards he died. It was now hoped that peace would soon be restored to the church; but his followers became more open and bold in their attacks on the doctrines which had heretofore been most surely believed by most pastors and people. "They inveighed and raged furiously, both in public and private, against the orthodox doctrine of the reformed churches concerning election, the perseverance of the saints, the assurance of salvation, and other articles, with contemptuous railings, with grievous offence to the pious, and the congratulation of adversaries, and disturbance of the churches."

Those who loved the truth and the peace continued to urge the calling of a Provincial Synod as the most probable means of removing the causes of discord and strife; but the followers of Arminius continued to throw obstacles in the way by "renewing their contentions about the manner of calling it." And in order that they might have no reason to fear being arraigned before any tribunal which could in-

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flict a serious judgment or censure on them, they proceeded to form themselves into a separate "body," as they called their schismatical organization, presenting a paper which they called a "Remonstrance" to the "Illustrious, the States of West Holland and Friezland," accompanied with a petition that they might be shielded by the civil authority against all censures of the Church. From this paper they were afterwards known as the "Remonstrants."

It now began to appear that the dissatisfaction of the Remonstrants with the received doctrines of the church extended farther than they had formerly professed. They labored assiduously to have Conradus Vortius—a man who was justly suspected of Socinianism—appointed to fill the theological chair which had been made vacant by the death of Arminius. In this they hoped to succeed by prejudicing men of eminence in the State against the received doctrines of the church. In particular, the doctrine of predestination was represented by them in the most horrible light. Some of the magistrates of the principal cities, however, could not be won over to their side; and by the aid of these, the orthodox pastors prevailed with the Curators of the University to reject the appointment.

The Remonstrants having presented a few articles in opposition to the received doctrines of the church, a conference was appointed to be held at the Hague to take them into consideration. Six leading men were chosen on each side to conduct the conference. But when it met on the 11th of March, 1611, the Remonstrant delegates refused to enter into a conference with those who had been appointed by the churches, unless they would lay aside their character as "deputies of the churches," lest the controversy should seem to be between them and the churches of Christ in Belgium. Lest the objects of the conference should be defeated, the deputies of the churches, after much disputing, consented. There was much discussion and disputation, and many plans were laid to heal the divisions in the church, all which ended in nothing. The Remonstrants then proposed a "mutual toleration;" but what they meant by a mutual toleration soon began to appear from their efforts to

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excite the magistrates against the orthodox by drawing the most odious pictures of the doctrine of predestination in order that the pastors to whom they were opposed might be cast out of their ministerial stations by the civil authorities, and men after their own heart forced on the congregations thus made vacant.

This was carrying matters too far even for that age. Their efforts recoiled on themselves. The "Illustrious the States," finding that the Remonstrants held other and greater errors than they had set forth in their articles, "appointed that the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ should be most purely set forth, as well in the churches as in the public schools of these regions, and to this end in the churches and in the public schools of Holland and West Friezland; that concerning the perfect satisfaction of our Saviour Jesus Christ for our sins, concerning the justification of men before God, concerning saving faith and original sin, the certitude of salvation, and the perfection of men in this life, nothing should be taught other than it is everywhere delivered in the Reformed churches, and hath hitherto been delivered in the churches." The Calvinists, as they are called, who opposed the followers of Arminius, desired no other, no higher Calvinism, than that which had hitherto been taught and professed in the Reformed churches.

We find our work swelling in our hands, and must take care not to trespass on the Editor's space or the reader's patience. Suffice it to say that Episcopius, a disciple of Arminius, was chosen as his successor by the curators of the University, to the great grief of the orthodox. Confusion and strife, and the scandal which usually accompanies them, everywhere prevailed. The contagion spread into the other confederated provinces. Neighboring States began to urge the "Illustrious States General" to adopt efficient measures to stop the progress of schism and strife. The Stadtholder, Prince Maurice, gave the same counsel, and almost commanded the "Illustrious the States General," and the states of Holland and West Friezland, to convene

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a National Synod. At length, after many delays and hindrances it was called, and appointed to be held at Dort or Dortrecht on the 13th of Nov., 1618. Letters were sent by the States General to the Reformed churches of England, France, Switzerland, &c., requesting them to send some of their ablest and most approved theologians, that they might aid by their counsels in the settlement of the controversies which were disturbing the peace of the Belgic churches. In answer to these letters deputies were sent from the churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, Bremen, Hessia and the Palatinate. The names of those who were sent by the established churches of Britain, according to Neale, were Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester, Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Samuel Wood, Master of Sidney College, from the Church of England, and Mr. Bancanquil from the Scotch Church. The Remonstrants soon withdrew; but the Synod continued its labors, and at the end of six months delivered their "judgment" on the several articles which had been brought into controversy. We can do no more than select out of many such articles on the various points as may serve to place the theological views of the Synod before the mind of the reader, omitting entirely the "rejection of errors."

CHAPTER I.

Of the Doctrine of Divine Predestination.

ART. 1.—As all men have sinned in Adam, and have become exposed to the curse and eternal death, God would have done no injustice to any one if he had determined to leave the whole human race under sin and the curse, and to condemn them on account of sin; according to those words of the Apostle, "All the world is become guilty before God," Rom. iii. 19. "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God," 23. And "The wages of sin is death," Rom. vi. 23.

2. But "in this the love of God is manifested, that he sent his only begotten Son into the world, that every one who believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," 1 John iv. 9; John iii. 10.

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3. But that men may be brought to faith, God mercifully sends heralds of this most joyful message to whom he willeth and where he willeth, by whose ministry men are called to repentance and faith in Christ crucified. For "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Rom. x. 14, 15.

4. They who believe not the Gospel, on them the wrath of God cometh; but those who receive it, and embrace the Saviour Jesus with a true and loving faith, are through him delivered from the wrath of God, and receive the gift of everlasting life.

5. The cause or fault of this unbelief, as also of all other sins, is by no means in God, but in man. But faith in Jesus Christ and salvation by him, is the free gift of God. "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God," Eph. ii. 8.

6. That some, *in time*, have faith given them by God, and others have it not given, proceeds from his eternal decree. For "known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world," Acts xv. 18; Eph. i. 11. According to which decree he graciously softens the hearts of the elect however hard; and he bends them to believe; but the non-elect he leaves in just judgment to their own perversity and hardness, &c.

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9. This same election is not made from any foreseen faith, obedience of faith, holiness, or any other good quality and disposition, as a *prerequisite cause or condition* in the man who should be elected, but *unto faith*, and *unto* the obedience of faith, holiness, &c. And, therefore, election is the fountain of ever-saving benefit; whence faith, holiness, and the other salutary gifts, and, finally, eternal life itself, flow as its fruit and effect, according to that word of the Apostle, "He hath chosen us (not because we *were*, but) that we *might* be holy and without blame before him in love," Eph. i. 4.

Attached to this 9th article there is a note which, on account of its wisdom and excellence, we cannot forbear quoting:

"Election is a part of divine revelation, and of the 'whole counsel of God,' which we must not shun to declare; for, in doing so, what do we but presume ourselves wiser than he

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who revealeth it as a part of his counsel, and decide that it ought not to have been revealed? But this declaration must be made with 'discrimination in a holy and religious manner," &c. Thus declared in its proper connection, application and *proportion*, as in the sacred Scriptures, it will greatly conduce to improve the believer's character, his humility, gratitude, admiring love of God, meekness, compassion, and good will to man, as well as his comfort, and joy, and hope. It will also exhibit the Gospel of most free and rich grace, in its unclouded glory, cast a clearer light on every other part of divine truth, and secure to the Lord alone the whole honor of man's salvation. Yet, the same doctrine rashly, indiscriminately, and disproportionatetly preached, and not properly stated and improved, does immense mischief."

CHAPTER II.

On the Doctrine of the Death of Christ, and through it, the Redemption of Men.

1. God is not only supremely merciful, but supremely just. And his justice requires (according as he has revealed himself in his word) that our sins committed against his infinite majesty, should be punished, not only with temporal, but also with eternal sufferings—of soul as well as body; which punishment we cannot escape unless the justice of God be satisfied.

2. But, as we cannot satisfy it and deliver ourselves from the wrath of God, God of his infinite mercy gave to us his only begotten Son as a surety, who, that he might make satisfaction for us, was made sin and a curse for us on the cross, or in our stead.

3. This death of the Son of God is a single and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sins: of infinite value and price, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world.

4. But this death is of so much value and price, on this account, because the person who endured it is not only truly and perfectly a holy man, but also the only begotten Son of God, of the same eternal and infinite essence with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, such as it behooved our Saviour to be. Finally, because his death was conjoined with the feeling of the wrath and curse of God, which we by our sins had deserved.

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5. Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is, that whoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have everlasting life. Which promise ought to be announced and proposed promiscuously and indiscriminately to all nations and men, to whom God in his good pleasure hath sent the Gospel with the command to repent and believe.

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8. For this was the most free counsel and gracious will and intention of God the Father, that the life-giving and saving efficacy of the most precious death of his own Son, should exert itself in all the elect, in order to give them alone justifying faith, and thereby to lead them to eternal life: that is, God willed that Christ, through the blood of the cross, (by which he confirmed the new covenant) should out of every tribe, people, nation and language, *efficaciously* redeem all those who were from eternity chosen to salvation, and given to him by the Father, that he should confer on them the gift of faith, &c.

We are aware that many will not wholly approve the language which is here employed in reference to the extent of the atonement; yet, perhaps, few will say that it contains any serious error. We, however, like better the manner in which the subject is presented in an occasional testimony issued many years ago, by the bodies which now compose the United Presbytetian Church. "Nevertheless, we admit that the sacrifice of Christ is, in itself, of infinite value; but neither its virtue nor its existence, in any sense, can be considered as extending beyond the limits of the covenant of grace. In this covenant, we have the *intention* with which it was offered. This is the salvation of God's elect."

It was the substitution of Christ in the room of his people, or of those who were given to him before the foundation of the world, that made his sacrifice an atonement for their sins.

CHAPTER III. AND IV.

Of the Doctrine of Man's Corruption, and of the Method of his Conversion to God.

1. Man, from the beginning, was created in the image of God, adorned in his mind with the true and saving knowledge of his Creator, and of spiritual things, with righteousness in his will and heart, and purity in all his affections,

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and thus was altogether holy; but by the instigation of the devil and his own free will, revolting from God, he bereaved himself of these inestimable gifts, and on the contrary, in their place, contracted in himself blindness, horrible darkness, and perversity of judgment in the mind; malice, rebellion, hardness in the will and heart; and, finally, impurity in all its affections.

2. And such as man was after the fall, such children also he begat, namely: being corrupted, corrupt ones; corruption having been derived from Adam to all his posterity, (Christ only excepted) not by imitation, as the Pelagians formerly would have it, but by the propagation of a vicious nature, through the just judgment of God.

3. Therefore, all men are conceived in sin, and born the children of wrath, indisposed to all saving good, propense to evil, dead in sins, and the slaves of sin; and without the grace of the regenerating Holy Spirit, they neither are willing nor able to return to God, to correct their depraved nature, or to dispose themselves to the correction of it.

4. There is, indeed, remaining in man, since the fall, some light of nature, by the help of which he retains certain notions concerning God and natural things; concerning the difference of things honorable and shameful, and manifests some desire after virtue and external discipline; but, so far from his being able, by this light of nature, to attain to the saving knowledge of God, or to turn himself to him, he does not use it rightly in natural and civil things; nay, indeed, whatever thing it may at length be, he contaminates it all in various ways, and holds it in unrighteousness, which, when he does, he is rendered inexcusable before God.

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9. That many who are called by the ministry of the Gospel do not come, and are not converted, the fault of this is not in the Gospel, nor in Christ offered by the Gospel, nor in God inviting by the Gospel, and conferring various gifts on them, but in the persons themselves who are invited, &c.

10. And that others who are called by the ministry of the Gospel, do come and are converted, this is not to be ascribed to man, as if by distinguishing himself by free will from others, furnished with equal or sufficient grace for faith and conversion, (which the proud heresy of Pelagius states,) but to God, who, as he chose his own people in

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Christ from eternity, so he also effectually calls them in time, gives them repentance and faith; and, having been rescued from the power of darkness, translates them into the kingdom of his Son, that they may declare his energies who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light: and glory, not in themselves, but in God, the Apostolic Scripture everywhere testifying this.

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16. But in like manner, as by the fall man does not cease to be man, endowed with intellect and will, neither hath sin, which has pervaded the whole human race, taken away the nature of the human species, but it hath depraved and spiritually stained it; so even this divine grace of regeneration does not act on man like stocks or trees, nor take away the proprieties (properties) of his will, or violently compel it while unwilling; but it spiritually quickens, (or vivifies,) heals, corrects, and sweetly, and at the same time, powerfully inclines it; so that whereas before it was wholly governed by the rebellion and resistance of the flesh, now prompt and sincere obedience by the Spirit may begin to reign, in which the renewal of our spiritual will and our liberty truly consist. For which reason, unless the admirable Author of all good should work in us, there could be no hope to man of rising from the fall, by that *free will* by which, when standing, he fell into ruin.

17. But in the same manner as the Omnipotent operator of God, whereby he produces and supports our natural life, does not exclude, but require the use of means by which God in his infinite wisdom and goodness sees fit to exercise this his power; so this forementioned supernatural power of God, by which he regenerates us, in no wise excludes or sets aside the use of the Gospel which the most wise God hath ordained as the seed of regeneration and food of the soul. Wherefore, as the apostles, and those teachers who followed them, have piously instructed the people concerning the grace of God, in order to his glory and the keeping down of pride, in the meantime, neither have they neglected (admonished by the holy Gospel,) to keep them under the exercise of the word, the sacraments and discipline; so then be it far from us that teachers or learners in the church should presume to tempt God by separating these things which God of his good pleasure would have most clearly united. For grace is conferred through admonitions, and the more promptly we do our duty the more illustrious the benefit of God, who worketh in us, is wont to be, and the more rightly doth his work proceed. To whom alone all the

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glory both of the means and their beneficial fruits and efficacy is due from everlasting. Amen.

On the 16th and 17th articles as given above, a word or two. They contain weighty and important truths, which should be seriously pondered by all who are put in trust with the Gospel. The use of means on our part, or diligence in the performance of duty, is as indispensably necessary to our salvation as the sovereign grace of God. Sovereign grace with all its freeness and richness, no more sets aside or renders unnecessary our earnest endeavors after salvation with the use of all the divinely appointed means, than our diligent endeavors render unnecessary the sovereign, rich and free grace of God. All depends on our diligence in duty, and yet all is of God, and to him belongs all the glory. Some hearers of the Gospel, we have had occasion to know, are after a sort delighted to hear the doctrine of the free, rich and sovereign grace of God set forth in the pulpit, but do not equally love to hear the duty pressed. They think it savors of Arminianism. The minister's task here is no easy one. It is no easy matter to make the truth on this "turning point of salvation" manifest, as it ought to be spoken. It is no easy matter to exalt divine grace, yet so as not to lull our hearers into a kind of fatal security, nor say anything which they may use as an excuse for neglecting to give diligence to make their calling and election sure. Who has not felt this? "Who is sufficient for these things?" By measuring ourselves by ourselves, and comparing ourselves among ourselves, we may come to think ourselves quite passable ministers of the word; but if we suffer our minds to dwell for a time on this subject, we may come to see that there is an *attainment* which we have not yet made, and after which we should still be reaching forward.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Perseverance of the Saints.

1. Those whom God according to his purpose calleth unto the fellowship of his son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and

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regenerates by his Holy Spirit, he indeed sets free from the dominion and slavery of sin, but not entirely in this life from the flesh and body of sin.

2. Hence, daily sins of infirmity arise, and blemishes cleave even to the best works of the saints, which furnish to them continual cause of humbling themselves before God, of fleeing to Christ crucified, of mortifying the flesh more and more by the spirit of prayer and the holy exercise of piety, and of panting after the goal of perfection until the time when, delivered from this body of death, they shall reign with the Lamb of God in the heavens.

3. Because of these remains of indwelling sin, and moreover, also, the temptations of the world and of Satan, the converted could not continue in this grace if they were left to their own strength. But God is faithful who confirms them in the grace once mercifully bestowed on them, and powerfully preserves them in the same even to the end.

4. But, though that power of God confirming the truly faithful in grace and preserving them, is greater than they can overcome by the flesh, yet the converted are not always so influenced and moved by God that they cannot depart in particular actions from the leading of grace, and be seduced by the desires of the flesh, and obey them. Wherefore they must continually watch and pray lest they be led into temptation. Which, when they do not they may not only be violently carried away by the flesh, and the world, and Satan, into grievous and atrocious sins, but they are sometimes even thus carried away by the righteous permission of God, which the mournful falls of David and Peter, and of other saints recorded in Scripture, demonstrate.

5. But by such erroneous sins they exceedingly offend God; they incur the guilt of death and they grieve the Holy Spirit; they interrupt the exercise of faith; they most grievously wound conscience; and they sometimes lose, for a time, the perception of grace, until by serious repentance returning into the way, the paternal countenance of God again shines on them.

6. For God who is rich in mercy from his immutable purpose of election, does not wholly take away his Holy Spirit from his own, even in lamentable falls; nor does he so permit them to glide down that they should fall from the grace of adoption and the state of justification, or commit the sin unto death, or against the Holy Spirit; that, being

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deserted by him, they should cast themselves headlong into eternal destruction.

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9. Of this guarding of the elect to salvation, and the perseverance in the faith of the truly faithful, the faithful themselves may become certain, and are according to the measure of their faith; by which they certainly believe themselves to be, and that they shall perpetually remain, true and living members of the church, have remission of sins and eternal life.

10. And indeed this is not from any peculiar revelation made beyond or without the word of God, but from the belief of the promises which God hath most copiously revealed in his own word for our comfort, by the testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing with our spirits that we are the sons and heirs of God. Finally, from the earnest and holy concern and desire of a good conscience and good works. And of this substantial consolation of the victory to be obtained, and the infallible earnest of eternal glory, if the elect of God could be deprived, "in this world they would be of all men the most miserable."

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12. But so far is this infallible certainty of perseverance from rendering the truly faithful proud and carnally secure, that, on the contrary, it is the true root of humility, of filial reverential fear, of true piety, of patience in every conflict, of ardent prayers, of constancy in the cross, and in the confession of the truth, and of solid joy in God: and the consideration of this benefit is the stimulus in the serious and continual exercise of gratitude and good works, as it appears by the testimony of the Scriptures and the experience of the saints.

Here we close our extracts from the "judgment" of the Synod, which, but for a reason already mentioned, we would gladly have made more copious. It may not be improper to follow them with a few observations.

1. It is believed that seldom, if ever, has an assembly of theologians set themselves to draw up an exhibit of the great saving truths of the gospel, who gave such evidence of an experimental acquaintance with the truths which they set forth, such a single concern for the glory of God, the honor of Christ, and the salvation of souls. One desire

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seems to have been uppermost in their minds—to prevent the children's bread from being poisoned. In this respect their "judgment" differs materially from many modern platforms of doctrine, and from most controversial writings, in which the desire of victory, the honor of a party, inveterate prejudice, personal dislike, or a wish to suit the popular taste, appear under but a thin disguise. Later systematizers may have been more logical, more correct in their metaphysics, and on a few points more strictly orthodox; but few have given such evidence that they had been with Jesus and had learnt of him. Here we do not mean to except men of the Westminster Divines, though in some respects we set a higher value on their labors. Perhaps at no time within our remembrance has there been so much reason, as at present, for an earnest and persevering effort to turn away the attention of the church and the ministers from "questions," from logomachies, from party polemics, and from moral and political "reforms," to the great truths which engaged the attention of this Synod. Too often, alas! the pulpit is turned into a place of mere entertainment, because the preacher is conscious to himself that he knows not how to interest his hearers by preaching to them Christ and him crucified. But—

2. Different opinions have been expressed as to the character of this Synod, according to the prejudices or predilections of different writers. Pet. Heylin, a famous writer who flourished in the times of James I., and who seemed to think more of his Majesty's "Book of Sports" than of the Fourth Commandment, gives the Synod a bad name, and caricatures the different articles which contain their judgment. He is followed by others of the same stripe, whose praise rather than their censure, would be a reproach to a godly man. But Dr. Thomas Scott, the commentator, though an Episcopalian, (they were Presbyterians,) while he finds some things to blame in the course pursued by the Synod, regards their judgment as entitled to great respect. No man of late years was more anxious or did more to free the Synod from undeserved reproach. Neale, in his history of

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the Puritans, says—"The English divines expressed full satisfaction with the proceedings of the Synod. Mr. Baxter says the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, never had an assembly of more excellent divines. The learned Jacobus Capellus, Professor at Leyden, declared that the equity of the fathers of this Synod was such that no instance can be given since the apostolic age of any other Synod in which the heretics were heard with more patience. P. du Moulin, Paulus Servita, and the author of the Life of Walæus, speak the same language." He gives his own judgment in these words:—"Upon the whole, in my judgment, they proceeded with as much discretion and candor, as most assemblies, ancient or modern, have done, who have pretended to establish articles for other men's faith, with penal sanctions." This suggests another observation—

3. Much odium has been heaped on the Synod for their persecution of the Remonstrants. But this is to be attributed to the infelicity of the times. They erred in common with the greatest and best men of the age. *Toleration* was a word not yet understood. No one thought of any thing else than that the decisions of the church should receive the sanction of the civil magistrate, and be by him enforced on the refractory. Indeed, within our remembrance, and in these United States, the contrary doctrine—that is, the doctrine of toleration—has been testified against as "latitudinarianism," and the doctrine that the magistrate should give the decisions of the church his civil sanction, adhered to as a most important "attainment." And Dr. Scott well remarks that had the Remonstrants been able to influence the Synod to decide in their favor, the pastors who adhered to the received doctrines of the church, would have been treated with no greater lenity.

In the "Decision of the Synod concerning the Remonstrants," which they adopted after they had given their judgment on the disputed doctrines, we find little, if anything, which we can say breathes a persecuting spirit. The most condemnatory passage in it simply "declares and judges that the pastors who have yielded themselves leaders

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of parties in the church, and teachers of errors, and of a corrupt religion, and of the rended unity of the church, and of most grievous scandals, and, moreover, having been summoned before the Synod, of intolerable obstinacy against the decrees of the supreme authority made known by this Synod itself, be accounted convicted and guilty persons. For which causes the Synod interdicts the before cited persons from every ecclesiastical service, and abdicates them from their offices, and judges them even to be unworthy of academical functions, until by earnest repentance, abundantly proved by words and deeds, and contrary exertions, they satisfy the church, and be truly and fully reconciled with the same, and received to her communion."

Notwithstanding the excited state of the public mind, the synod showed themselves capable of making a just discrimination, and acting with as much lenity and forbearance as, in their judgment, was consistent with a just concern for the peace and purity of the church. They go on to say: "Let them, (the classes or Presbyteries), with all lenity, by the duties of love, by patience, excite those who have fallen or been carried away by infirmity and the fault of the times, and perhaps hesitate in lighter matters, or are even dissentient, but quiet, of blameless life, tractable to true and perfect concord with the church; yet, so that they may diligently take care that they do not admit any to the sacred ministry who refuse to subscribe these synodical constitutions of the declared doctrine and teach it," &c. How the Synod could have done less without being unfaithful does not appear. It was the civil sanction afterwards given to the acts of the Synod which led to the severe treatment that some of the Remonstrants received, even to banishment from their native land.

4. Following writers who preceded them, Neale, Buck, &c., speak of the Synod being called to decide on the controversies between the Arminians and Calvinists. Now, this language is calculated to mislead, though neither of the authors named had any such intention. It was called to consider the doctrines which were in dispute between the

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Arminians and those who adhered to the received doctrines of the church as contained in her confession. None were ever required to subscribe to any doctrine because it was taught by Calvin, or as taught by Calvin.

5. While vindicating the Synod against accusers, Dr. Scott makes the following admission, which is thought to be worthy of the serious attention of all those who draw up ecclesiastical platforms or formularies: "I would observe that they seem to have aimed at too much in their deliberations and decisions; not too much for *an ordinary controversial* publication, but too much for an *authoritative standard*, to be entirely received and adhered to by all the ministers of religion and teachers of youth in the Belgic churches."

This is certainly true. But the Doctor seems to have overlooked the fact that the *authoritative standard* of doctrine was still to be the confession of the Belgic Church as revised by the Synod, and which is, to this day, we believe, the confession of the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States. As it appears to us, the judgment of the Synod was only to be the authoritative standard till the Remonstrants were restored or expelled.

The Doctor further says: "However, I do, in my private judgment, consider the articles of the Synod of Dort very *scriptural;* yet, when made the terms of conformity, or of officiating as public teachers, even with full toleration, and exemption from anything beyond simple exclusion, I must regard them as peculiarly *improper*. The terms of communion even where none are molested who decline them, and of being public teachers, should by no means be carried into the *minutiæ* of Christian doctrine, which perhaps the ablest theologians are convinced to be scriptural. They should include only the grand principles in which all the humble disciples and pious ministers of Christ agree. * * The apostles never attempted to enforce by authority the whole of what they infallibly knew to be true. And who, then, should attempt to enforce their *fallible* opinions on others? Besides, by aiming at too much, the very end is

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defeated; the number who, from ignorance or indolence, or corrupt motives, conform in such cases, and of those who teach other doctrines than what they have consented to, become too great for any discipline to be exercised over them."

It is for the sake of the last sentence chiefly that we have made this extended quotation. When the terms of communion run out too much into detail; when an assent is required to the *minutiæ* of Christian doctrine; when no proper distinction is made between articles of faith and prudential regulations which may and indeed must change as the circumstances of the church change, it is a well known fact that the end is defeated. Many, in their simplicity, yield their assent to that which they have really never examined or inquired whether it is scriptural. Have not men been heard to say, in reference to some *point* which their minister had harped on for years, as though it were a matter of the utmost importance, that they never could understand it, but they thought it best to let it alone? Another step or two in this direction has only to be taken, till men will begin to give a good-natured, ignorant assent to the most vital truths of Christianity, imagining that this is all that is necessary. Who doubts that there are in certain churches whole congregations whose members would not now bear to hear preached, and really do not believe, doctrines—opinions rather—which, half a century ago, their ministers were teaching with the utmost zeal and earnestness. And yet they would argue that their church had not changed from the ground which she formerly occupied. Did they ever really believe some of the distinctive principles of her profession? Did they ever really believe some opinions which they were required publicly to profess?

I have long been much pleased with a sentiment which has been expressed nearly in the following words: "Unity in necessary things; liberty in things not necessary; charity in all things." That is, let the church require unity in all things which are necessary to salvation, to a holy life, to peace and edification; let her allow liberty in all things, about which humble Christians may differ, and concerning

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which it is neither necessary to salvation, nor to the maintainance of sound doctrine and salutary discipline, that they should all be of one mind; and in all things let Christians judge charitably one of another.

Surely we cannot be far mistaken if we say, that if all Christians and Christian ministers were duly humble, teachable, and diligent in their endeavors to ascertain the mind of the Spirit speaking in the Scriptures, and would consult the Scriptures free from every improper bias or prejudice, surrendering themselves to the guidance of the word and Spirit as they should; they would all come to be of the same mind in relation to all those "things by which men live, and in which is the life of the soul." And this must be so, notwithstanding that we are but weak, frail and erring creatures; for, it was to just such creatures as we are, that the word of God was given to be a *lamp* and a *light*, and the Holy Spirit was promised to guide into all truth. The lamp sheds no dim flickering light; the Spirit is no insufficient guide. Hence, a marked unity of belief has been found among all the true followers of the Lamb in all ages past; and no unity or uniformity, but the "unity of the Spirit," that unity which is a fruit of the Spirit, is worth praying for or seeking after.

Here we must close. At some future time, we may, with the Editor's permission, attempt to complete our design, by showing the happy unity of faith which existed in the reformed churches, before it was disturbed by the dissenisons which arose in Holland and in Britain.

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Article IV.—Entomology: or, The Science of Insect Life.

"What a pity of that poor old crazy man," exclaimed a kind-hearted English lady, as she beheld from her parlor window in an adjoining yard, a venerable-looking man seated beside a large tub filled with soap-suds, while day after day, and for hours together, he continued blowing large bubbles with a straw, and gazing intently at them, as one after another they floated up and exploded in the air.

That poor old crazy man was Sir Isaac Newton, who, all unconscious of the good lady's sympathy, was, in that seemingly childish sport, investigating and establishing the laws of light—its reflection and refraction—unfolding the mystery of the rainbow, and establishing principles destined to guide the scientific student to the end of time. The world has, undoubtedly, reversed the judgment of the kind-hearted lady and her friends with respect to the craziness of the poor old man.

Without laying any claim to be a Sir Isaac Newton, it has, nevertheless, been my misfortune to have had, on various occasions, exercised towards myself a similar feeling of pity: and this, too, from persons whose good opinion was, at the same time, much coveted. Nor has it been my good fortune to escape so easily at did the philosopher. For, all unconscions of extra sympathy, he pursued his studies unmolested. More than once or twice, on the contrary, have I discovered myself lessoned in the estimation of well meaning, intelligent people, after seeing me in hot pursuit of some coveted insect. "A minister of the Gospel chasing a butterfly!—A man of professed soberness and piety hunting after bugs and worms!—He might be better employed—a

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business fit only for children." Though all this has not at all times been spoken, yet has it, most effectually and unmistakeably, been often *looked into me.*

In pressing the claims of so seemingly an insignificant part of creation, such diminutive creatures as insects, upon your attention, study and admiration, I am not unconscious that an apology may be expected. This anticipated demand is yielded to, but with the disclaimer, that it is made to the general inattention, and consequent ignorance of this study, and not from an acknowledged lack of utility and pleasure to be derived from an intimate acquaintance with this department of God's handy-work. Most earnestly, indeed, do I long for the time when Natural History, especially in the departments of Zoology and Botany, will constitute a far more important element in every system of common, as well as more extended education. I hope yet to see every library have as many specimens from Natural History, at least, as it has books; each school-house possess its cabinet, and each scholar become a naturalist.

The comparative value of a study is to be tested by its adaptedness to afford amusement, increase of knowledge, utility, and the fear of God. Tested by this standard, Natural History must ever maintain a high prominence. Nor, in the wide range of animal life, do the tiny creatures hold an insignificant place, though they be but a little folk. In the study of these handy-works of God, an influence is exerted upon the mind at once pleasing and ennobling. The mind is thus accustomed to go back from effects to causes, and through causes to find out the effects. Results, deduced from observations already made, are constantly tested by new facts. Speculations of an ennobling character cannot fail to be started; but as *material* proof in this department of study must ever be resorted to, the imagination will hence be kept from running into vagaries. The closest observation is here also constantly demanded. Comparison, distinction, and classification are necessary handmaids. Method is a necessity. In Entomology, grammar, logic, numbers, and history are all happily combined.

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The information acquired in the study of Natural History is more practical also and less liable to be forgotten, than in many other departments in knowledge. Owing to the busy, bustling, active scenes of life, especially in this land, into which the student, graduating with honor, is generally forced to enter, little time may thereafter be found for reöpening his classical, algebraic, or metaphysical books. Nature's volume is, however, always open before him, to allure into the improvement of each leisure moment. Every journey he makes on business, or ramble for pleasure, the flower springs up unbidden in the pathway—the insect floats around him—above him the bird skims the air, and beneath his feet crawl the spider and the worm. Lying down and rising up, at all times, and in all places, he meets the vision and the voice of this charmer. If by early training and study the objects of nature have become familiar, he meets henceforth old friends in birds, in each flower an acquaintance, while every tiny moth or worm in its efforts to avoid the tread of his foot, seems to look up and plead for immunity, with the appeal—"Have we not met before?"

Whatever studies are calculated to impart a clearer and more ennobling conception of the Divine wisdom and goodness must be honorable, legitimate and profitable. Pursuits which bring such results would not demean an angel's service, or be beneath a seraph's attention. The student of nature has exerted upon him a constant moral stimulant to be open, candid, honest and generous. A Christian it may not make him; but degradedly vicious and abandonedly profligate he is not likely to become. The person who has cultivated acquaintance with natural science merely for pleasure will be surprised to find the facilities thus afforded for disentangling all kinds of mental difficulties Let Geometry boast its ability to call into requisition the syllogism, and demand of her devotees the most rigorous reasoning; yet will the logic of method, acquired in these tangible studies, be found much more ready and advantageous in daily life when applied to studies the most foreign to either Geometry or Natural History.

In business or in solitude, the various departments of

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God's handy-works afford interest sufficient to satisfy the most vigorous mind. Here the agitated soul may find a calm, the unhappy a consolation, and even hatred get no place for activity. Once brought into happy communion with the harmonies of nature, all regulated and directed by a special and gracious Providence, how trivial will appear many of the now agitating causes of fear, hatred and revenge?

He who has carefully studied the anatomy of an insect, experiences a pleasure unfelt by the ignorant and unobservant. The poet hears music where the ordinary ear is assailed only with discord. The philosopher gathers lessons of wisdom from objects in which the unobservant discovers no interest. The Christian sees the love of God in arrangements, where the caviller witnesses nought but discord. The province of genius is not so much to discover new facts and principles as to tell old ones in an interesting and familiar manner. True genius delights to look into the minutiæ of things. Any blockhead can look at a matter in the aggregate. God cares for sparrows. The smallest insect is not beneath His notice. The hairs of our head are all numbered. "*Little things,*" young gentlemen, my venerated teacher in theology would often say to his class—"*Little things,* young gentlemen, make the man as well as the scholar. Be careful about the little things, and the *big ones* will take care of themselves."

If importance be attached and attention bestowed on animate creatures in accordance with the measure of influence they exert in the happiness or discomfort of man, or in accordance with the part they perform in the economy of earth, the insect will at once demand a consideration and swell into an importance demanded but by few orders of living creatures. A single class of insects, by their number and voracity, often lay waste whole provinces within a few days; thus reducing the inhabitants to beggary. When God determined to punish Egypt for her sins by consuming the entire vegetation of the land, he evoked not as instruments of his anger the cattle from a thousand hills and valleys, but a more certain and fell destroyer—the locust. An

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ordinary production of wheat, which we so justly term *the staff of life*, often depends on the presence or absence of the Hessian fly or weavel. How those magic words, "the fly," "the bug," "the weavel," carry terror with them as they are softly whispered from farm-house to farm-house, till they reach at length official mansions, making hearts quake and lips tremble. These almost invisible depradators cause more uneasiness, vexation, and disappointment to the tillers of the ground, than all the hurricanes, droughts, and frosts, with plunders of beast and bird put together. The devastation of an occasional frost, hurricane, or flood may soon be repaired or forgotten. The bird may be kept away by a scare-crow, the wild beast by the deadly rifle, and the tame one by a higher fence. But what foresight can prevent the ravages of these insignificant marauders, which come and go alike regardless of scare-crow, fence, or bullet? Without remedy the hopes of the husbandman are thus blasted, and millions forced to live for a season on scanty or unwholesome food.

It costs man more toil, anxiety, time, and expense to maintain his supremacy over the insect tribes than that of all other animate creation united.

A single species of almost imperceptible insects have erected structures immeasurably surpassing in solidity, magnitude, and durability all the efforts of men, or even fabled giants. The emerald isles of the Pacific, which rise like gems on the ocean's bosom, are the masonary of the *coral worm;* an insect so small that the human eye can barely detect it, and so feeble as to be crushed by an infant's touch. Yet compared with their combined erections, pyramid and tower—yea, the entire accumulations of brick and mortar, stone and iron in all the cities and dwellings on the globe, are as but a mole hill beside a mountain.

Poetry, history, and rhetoric have almost exhausted themselves in describing the majesty of the lion, and the terribleness of his roar; but, in the actual amount of terror inspired by the animal voice, the clear, shrill, terrific tone of the hungry *musquito*, infuses consternation wide-spread,

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such as all the lions, with other denizens of the forest united, never inspire. The king of beasts may occasionally make his supper upon a dirty Hottentot, or a wandering Arab; yet, measuring himself with the midge, or the musquito, for the preëminence in shedding blood, the lion and the tiger sink into comparative harmlessness. These fragile creatures, a thousand of which you could crush together with the weight of the hand, have sucked as much blood from poor tortured humanity as might swim a navy. The hours of uneasy wakefulness they have occasioned would make whole centuries of individual existence. The nets and bars which have been fabricated as defences against them would smother all the lions in Africa. As enemies in hostility against man and beast various tribes of these puny things may become more terrible than an army in array of battle. A swarm of bees, or a nest of hornets, angered can instantly put to a bellowing rout whole herds of cattle, and cause their keepers to hide themselves in terror. When the giants of Canaan were to be driven out before invading Israel, the Almighty selected the most fear-inspiring and invincible enemy—the *hornet.* Against an onset from such a host, of what avail was strength, bravery, or weapons of war? During the warm season there are enough of stinging insects in every neighborhood to destroy in an hour each man and beast, did He who restrains their anger but give them a commission.

Though our article concerns a tiny folk—creatures insignificant from their appearance—yet in their aggregate effects they thus force themselves into attention, and swell into an importance of no ordinary magnitude.

"The proper study of man, we are sagely assured, is man." Be it so: yet may we, nevertheless, be greatly assisted in this investigation of our lordships by a more intimate acquaintance with these tiny fellow-mortals. In their habits of life, manners, and forms of government, may be found numerous and striking types, resemblances, and counterparts of our own. Among the *genus homo* there lives the monk and solitary nun to contrast with those

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whom God has placed in families. The sloven with the gay courtier; the benevolent of heart with the Ishmaelite of his race; the polished citizen with the plain farmer; the wealthy lordling with the wretched mendicant; the compact government with the wandering Arab.—All these, and many other counterparts, have we among these long despised, yet ambitious little creatures. In the desert far from the haunts of social bugs and crickets, can be found, beneath the stone or hid in the earth, the insect monk, resolutely refusing the comforts of society and dragging out a monotonous existence, with naught, seemingly, to excite or charm away its dreary dullness. Who, on the contrary, has not beheld the tiny midge, in the twilight of a summer's eve, assembling together in countless numbers, arranging themselves into the appearance of a large ball, flying through, and over, and round, and under each other, and all the while making mimic, yet high-keyed music? No other object seems to draw them together save social pleasure, and this they have with a hearty good will—a French cotillion not being half so nimble, a masquerade not so merry. On the surface of the quiet, shaded stream, the gyrenus—a bright colored water bug, the size of the finger's end—companies of hundreds may be often seen delighting themselves with frolicking together in quick and eccentric circles. Utility, defence or food does not seem to be the inducement for these assemblies, but wholly the glee and frolic, fun and mirth. Nor is there wanting among insects the marauding savage, the true Ishmaelite, whose seeming delight is to assault every one he may chance to meet, and make a prey of all he can conquer. The stealthy assassin spider lurks behind the wall he has reared, until his unwary victim be enticed near enough for his hungry appetite, when it is devoured without any of those poetic sympathies we denominate remorse or pity. The gentlemanly fly portrays to us the diversified character of country swain, the dweller in tents, the ambitious squire, and the luxuriant farmer. The fierce hornet, the cunning wasp, the patient ant, and the industrious bee exhibit to us perfect examples of compact society, united labor, and

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thorough city life. Here, also, we find wholesome and well-established laws, permanent and wisely-ordered government, undisputed rulers, faithful subjects, patient and industrious laborers, with knighted warriors, valiant unto death. Here we find accumulation of property, means of offence and defence, all fully developed and in perfect working order, long ere any just conception of these existed among men. *Justice*, too, is administered by insect communities, especially among bees, in a manner which, unhappily, has not been copied into human legislation. The drones, those lazy members of the body politic, who, by personal labor, add nothing to the general advancement, are without ceremony thrust out of the community, so soon as consuming time comes. By no coaxing, no wheedling, no deceptions or persuasives are they allowed to reënter, or to taste the sweets collected by the labor of others. Backed by the plainest Scripture is this legislative and executive action: "He that will not work, let him, therefore, not eat." Pity is it this law was not so executed among men. What a riddance of lazy burdens society would presently experience!

Against the *form* of government universal among these diminutive favorites, our strong republican proclivities may cause some demurring. They seem irretrievably, even incorrigibly wedded to monarchy. And what still more shocks the expansive democracy of us lords of creation is, that instead of a king, they invariably choose a queen to reign over them. Nor does Queen Victoria receive such undivided homage of loyal Englishmen, as the queen bee or ant from its many thousand subjects. The lives, the fortunes, and the sacred honor of each honorable bee and ant are at the service and bidding of their queen. To live for her honor and die in her service is the proud ambition of each honorable subject.

In architecture and the mechanic arts, insects exhibit exquisite skill, the nicest finish, and the most perfect rules of science. These were all known and practiced by those neglected mechanics long before man had attained the least eminence. Here we have spinners and weavers, tailors

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and carpenters, masons and plasterers, lace-makers, dyers and painters, manufacturers of paper, bread and confectionaries—all carrying on their respective trades with the greatest industry, precision, and perseverance. The spider and the silk worm, together with almost every species of caterpiler, spin quantities of thread, of untold length, and of an evenness and texture far surpassing that of the most finished Welsh or English workers, with all their modern improvements of steam and spinning jennies. But the unapproachable superiority of these entomological spinners consists in this, that *within themselves* are furnished the material, the machine, and the productive power of their art. Weaving is also performed from the open gauze of the spider to the impenetrable texture of the cocoon. Many species of ant carve their habitaticns out of wood. Others of the same family build their tenements with a like material used in the erection of ancient Babel. Within, their little palaces are adorned with parlors, chambers, stairways, arches, domes, and colonnades. The mason wasp fabricates his home from earth and sand, cementing them with gluten from his own body, thus rendering it of such solidity as to withstand the action of the atmosphere almost as long as a well built house of brick and mortar. The hornet understood how to manufacture fine paper long before the Egyptians had learned to write upon the cortex or the papyrus. The bee is a bread-maker of exquisite skill, as well as a honey-gatherer—a confectioner, moreover, without fear of a rival. He is withal a mathematician, understanding cones and conic sections. His house is a model of neatness and convenience, yielding the most room from the smallest space. Modern architects have made the discovery that the cell of the honey-comb combines the greatest strength with the most convenience for the space occupied. The water spider, with his diving apparatus, sinks to the bottom of the pond he occupies, and remains there at his leisure, breathing freely, and catching his prey, and that even without wetting his feet. The modern diver practices his precarious business precisely on the spider's principles, but far from reaching his skill and success. The firefly and the

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glow-worm had a perfect labaratory and practiced the condensation and discharge of electricity long ere Franklin discovered to how draw it from the clouds and confine the subtle fluid in bottles.

Perfection in all these arts and varied productions was the enviable possession of these fragile artizans from their first trial. How different with man! Much does *he* lose in the comparison—ever changing, with an endless round of fashion, the material and form of his dress. The habitations of men have also been undergoing countless changes and modifications, and this process still going on with little evidence of perfection yet. In the forms of *our* dwellings there is exhibited an untrammeled democracy. Every man constructing his house after his own pattern; and many of them, truly, are curious, unsightly, and inconvenient assemblages of wood and stone, brick and mortar. Against all these ceaseless changes of fashion and modes of architecture let us not, however, too hastily express our uneasiness and disgust. They are all signs for good. This dissatisfaction with the present and desire for change are but foretastes of a better time coming. Sad would it be were contentment manifested in present attainments; so far evidently are they all from perfection. There *seems* to be in men and women a faint ideal of what is most fitting and beautiful in form and convenience, both of dress and dwelling. After this ideal they are ever grasping; and, whatever croakers may say to the contrary, are still approaching nearer this much desired attainment. Useless, therefore, is war against hoops and crinoline, with a wee bit bonnet pinned to the back of the head, or any other such types of ideal beauty. Let them have their day—time sufficient to satisfy all; they are still far from perfection. If let alone, all such things soon pass away. The next generation will no doubt laugh at such unshapely costumes should any stray pattern, as an heir-loom, be handed down to them. Let them laugh, yet join trembling with their mirth, lest succeeding times should, in turn, laugh at them. How different all this with our mimic artists, builders, and fashion-mongers! With them, there are no changes, no variations,

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no outlandish efforts after an ideal perfection. All with them was perfect from the beginning. What a seeming miracle of knowledge have we here! Effects which in man demand the clearest and most specific exercise of understanding and forethought, and withal many a sad failure; and all this by insignificant beings which we are wont to call unintelligent. On what principle do these acts take place? No one can answer. All beyond our ken. Abundant proof, at least, that the creatures which do them are the work of God—that their teacher is divine.

The *instruments* with which all these mechanical arts are carried to such perfection no less demand our study and admiration. The skillful mechanic, or the learned architect, must be doubly interested to find as the bodily organs of insects perfect augurs, saws and gimlets, knives and scissors, chisels and forceps, planes and hatchets, all used with such precise, varied, alternate and complex motions as to baffle the skill of human ingenuity, assisted by all the improved machinery in mechanism.

Variety, we are assured, is the spice of life.—Then may our lives have an abundant spicing in the study of Entomology. The numbers, forms and colors of insects approach as near the infinite in variety as man can well conceive. All other living things—beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles—so far as known, do not probably exceed 30,000; while the distinct varieties of insects run up to, at least, 400,000, to which enormous multitude continued discoveries are constantly adding new varieties. Were it possible to have all this insect army pass in review before us, what endless changes of form and color would be seen—shapes of which we before had no conception, nor could have imagined of their existence. Like Milton, we would be ready to exclaim,

> ——"All prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fable, yet hath feigned or fear conceived,
> Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire!"

Nor stopping with the natural sight, modern science has

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given us a vision to discover teeming varieties of perfectly developed animal life in each drop of water, and covering all the fruits we eat. In every drink of water we swallow are whole families of animals, unsightly in appearance, as toads, lizzards, and worms. Happily, we do not see them, or disgust might keep us long thirsty.

In richness, variety and beauty of coloring, many classes of insects surpass all other varieties of animation. To these the bird and the flower are compelled to yield their boasted prerogative of beauty. Some insects present the appearance of polished gems. Others, with their glittering armor, outdazzle the burnished brass; while in others the gaudiness of the flower, the peacock's plumage, and the tints of the rainbow, are all mimicked.

Self-preservation being the first law of nature, these seemingly feeble tenants of earth possess this prerogative in forms curiously diversified and numerous. Countless enemies wage a constant warfare on the whole insect race. Many a rapacious crop and stomach crave and take no other food. Among themselves, also, unceasing civil broils render life precarious. As among men, the strong prey upon the weak, the cunning upon the simple. Had not some means of defence been granted them, whole tribes might ere long become extinct. The principle of non-resistance preserves, in various ways, not a few. The form and color of many so much resemble other bodies, that, to remain perfectly still, when the enemy is near, seems the surest safeguard. Various species, like the opposum, when danger approaches, feign to be dead, and are thus passed by—the insect-eater preferring living to dead prey. Many, when assailed, emit odors of all conceivable vileness, yielding but little in offensiveness to the skunk. Such a mode of defence is well known to be most effective, seldom failing in potency. On the contrary, when an enemy approaches, others exhibit the soldier to perfection, showing a bravery and fighting against odds, in comparison of which all man's boasting may cease. David fighting against Goliah certainly presented a fearful disparity; but what was this in

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comparison of that which may be seen in the warlike hornet? When sallying out to defend his invaded nest, the size or number of his enemy are of no consideration. An elephant is attacked with as much readiness and fury as would be a fellow-insect of his own size. A bee will dash at an ox that may chance to invade the hive, and generally comes off victorious. The warrior ant will, without hesitation, assault a man, fasten its fangs in his flesh, and although its body be torn away, limb by limb, till nought but the head remains, will not relinquish its hold. Myriads of prudent insects, however, practice on the distich, that—

> "He who runs away,
> May live to fight another day."

The zigzag, up and down, wayward course of the butterfly, is no doubt the principal reason why the eager boy so seldom catches him. By no means a swift flyer, but excentric, and like excentric persons, seldom persued. The swift motions made by many, while no doubt mostly for pleasure, yet also conduce greatly to their safety. When in motion they seem to be here, and there, and everywhere, baffling even the thought of pursuit. They may be seen "dancing in the sunbeam or the shade, creeping slowly or marching soberly, or running swiftly, or jumping upon the ground, traversing your path in all directions, coursing over the surface of the waters, or swimming at every depth beneath, emerging from the subterrenean habitation, or going into one, glancing from flower to flower, *these* the busy children of the day, and *those* of the night."

"These little creatures also make a great din in the world." With an incessant diurnal hum of bees and flies, a nightly buzz of gnats and musquitoes, an eventide booming of beetles, the chirping of crickets, and the night-long, deafening reëcho of the katydid—all are familiar. Strange, however, yet true is it, no insect has a voice. No sound is by them ever produced by means of air expelled from the lungs, passing through a larynx and modulated by the tongue. Though many of them are incessantly noisy, yet,

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with respect to voice, they are all everlastingly silent. All their sounds are made by means of external organs. Our whole cricket and grasshopper tribes are merry, interminable fiddlers, their music being wholly instrumental. The noise we hear from the katydid and such like insects, is made by a saw-like motion of their wing-covers over a glassy membrane, bearing a resemblance to the human eye. *Within*, it has a sound-box like the interior of a violin. Many a pleasing day dream, as well as the charm of songs in the night, does the world owe to these merry-makers of music. *Love*, we are assured, has always been the soul of song. The day melodies, as well as the night-long music, of these incessant fiddlers, seem also inspired by the same impulse. An imaginative poet has gathered this, among other breathings, from the monotonous repitition of katydid:

> "But never fear *me*, gentle one, nor waste a thought or tear,
> Lest *I* should whisper what I heard in any mortal ear;
> I only sport among the boughs, and like a spirit hid,
> I think on what I saw and heard, and laugh out '*katydid!*' "

Yet here, again, waywardness characterizes our jocund friends. Strange to tell, the insect ladies take no part in these amatory strains. Too coy seem they and reserved to tell their loves even to the winds. The males make all the music, and to do them justice, it must be acknowledged they not only give us a great deal of it, but give it well. Loving, however, to hear our wives and sweet-hearts talk and sing, we indignantly disown the reason assigned by the saucy Xenarchus for the jolly merriment of these male insects:—

> "Happy the Cicida's lives;
> Because they all have voiceless wives."

The utilitarian may perhaps interpose his dictum, and demand: "Of what benefit are they after all?" "I would like to know," said an old lady to me once; "*I would like to know* of what use are fleas and musquitoes, bugs and snakes, save to pester and bite people?"

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In our Southern States there is a numerous little red insect (pulex penetrans) familiarly called the chigre, belonging to the flea tribe, and scarcely discernable by the naked eye. If it gets in contact with the body the habit of the little blood-sucker is to burrow under the skin, thus causing intense itching, and of course scratching most vigorous and continued. Once sailing down the Alabama river with a jolly company of Southerners, the chigres, among other topics, were introduced, and received many expressions of aversion. This was, however, interrupted by a physician, of large practice, asserting that, "as promoters of health, they were more efficacious than all his pills and plasters." Abashed were we all, and eagerly listened for the solution. "Frequent irritation of the skin," said he, "is a necessity to health in this hot climate. If let alone, its relaxing influences would soon render us all too lazy even to rub ourselves. In kindness, God has sent us the *chigres*, and we are compelled to SCRATCH." Concerning this orthodox medical philosophy few can be wholly ignorant.

Even the most offensive insect may become an efficient prompter to cleanliness. Let but a certain dirty, red colored, flat-shaped, not very delicately-scented specimen of entomology, scientifically termed *cimex lectularius*, no sooner make its appearance in a bed-chamber, than with every good house-wife abundance of soap-suds and scalding water are in immediate requisition.

As scavengers, various kinds of flies, bugs and the disgusting maggot, preserve the world from becoming a stench-pool of unhealthy odors. As food for birds and fishes, which, in turn, become food for man, they perform no ordinary function in the economy of earth. As direct articles of food for man, the uninitiated would no doubt be surprised to learn how many of our race live almost entirely upon insects. And who among us will dare cavil at their tastes? Few insects are more disgusting in appearance than the crab and oyster, which we devour in such quantities, and with such epicurian gusto.

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Deprived of insect aid our medical science and pharmacopœias would be very incomplete, as the mere mention of *cantharis*, the blister fly, attest. Without their assistance, our commerce, arts, sciences and luxuries would be seriously curtailed. The gall bladder nut and cochineal are indispensible to our dyers. *Lac*, produced by a species of insect in India, is largely used in various arts. Bees' wax has become almost an indispensible article of use and consumption in every civilized land. And *honey*—honey from the comb—to tell all its praises were impossible. It is known better by the taste than by the pen or tongue. When the Almighty selected the most appropriate terms to decribe the fertility and pleasures of the promised land—"It flowed with milk and honey." And silk! soft, rich, delicate, beautiful silk! What a shabby, ungainly world of fashion would there be, denuded of silks and satins! When Nature

> "Set to work millions of spinning worms,
> That in their green shops weave the smooth-haired silk,
> To deck her sons,"

a boon was granted than which a greater could scarcely have been conceived or asked. Who, then, will repeat the question: "Of what utility are insects*?"

Nor are these all the advantages yielded us by this diversified multitude of animate being. They are, moreover, when listened to, no inapt teachers of ethics—yea, of theology, also. If the race of Sadducees be not extinct, if one yet be found denying the future resurrection of the dead, and that from its unreasonableness—its want of analogy, and still mooting the old question, "With what body do they come?" Caveller, look at that small, unsightly grub

* To those not disposed to cavil, but to think, we can say: each injurious insect may be sent as a preacher to meet us face to face, and forcibly remind how dearly we are paying for the primal transgression. A worm, often at the core of our most delicious fruits, is, perhaps, to make us feel that the trail of the Serpent has touched all outside of Eden; or it may be as symbolic prophets to point the vision and the faith to the tree of life, with its twelve manner of fruits and monthly yield, on which no canker fastens nor worms devour.

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—call it a maggot—falling from the leaf of a tree, and burying itself in the earth. See that large hairy caterpillar weaving for itself a silken sarcophagus, and lying in it, seemingly dead, for long months together. Look again amidst the flowers of a coming summer, and mark that creature of incomparable beauty—a gaudy butterfly—as it daintily and sportively sips nectar from flower to flower. Listen, caviller, that is the unsightly grub we saw a year or more since. Its identity has never been lost. Changed, all changed, wonderously changed, yet the same animate being under all these varying forms. Look upon that little helpless, senseless, puling infant. Go, and come again after an absence of some thirty years—see yon strong man, transforming the earth by his vigor, and measuring the stars by his knowledge. Consider him, after another thirty or fifty years of absence—see a feeble, decaying old man, passing away from earthly scenes, and by tender hands closed in a narrow cell to decay and separate. Go now, and come again—no matter as to the intervening time—mark yon immortal, incorruptible, glorious being, full of power, and reigning together with Christ on His throne. Unbeliever, that is the little helpless infant we saw,—its identity never lost. All changed, often changed, gloriously changed, but still the same person. Yet, what is there in all these changes more mysterious or incredible than those of the insect, whose metamorphoses we followed?

Turn again for additional instruction to that butterfly. See it adorned with gaeties of every grace and color, borne on in its eccentric, yet pleasing course, sucking, as it passes, sweets and pleasures from every flower. Can there be a beholder so inattentive, so thoughtless, as not to discover here an emblem of the redeemed in glory? While in other insects the jaws, the horns, the fangs, the color, together with the impurity of their habits, their dens, and their food, become no inapt symbols of evil spirits and the place of torment, lecturers are they on morals, industry, and frugality. "How long," says Solomon, "wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of sleep?

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Go to the *ant*, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise: which, having no guide, overseer or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest."

But how shall we designate this wondrously varied and pliable development of skill and forethought—this adaptation of means for the accomplishment of ends, and these ever guided to certain and infallible results? We are wont to denominate all this instinct, thus covering our own ignorance by a term so indefinite. Why not call it reason, allowing these fellow-worms and insects this prerogative, seeing they manifest so much of its reality? Granting this will entrench nothing on man's high attainments and dignity. It is not intellect, it is not intelligence, it is not reason which so certainly and manifestly distinguish man from all other animals. The insect often exhibits more sagacity than the savage, the dog more intellect than his master, the elephant more reason than his keeper. The insect, the dog, and the elephant have, however, no distinct *sense* of accountability—no *conscience*—no *remorse* for the past—no *hope* for the future. These are the things which distinguish man as a moral being, and hence render *him* alone, of all earth's animate tribes, accountable for his actions.

No effort has been made to give you the scientific details, not even a synopsis, of Entomology as an ordinary study. These dryer details can be better learned from technical books, or in the professors room. My aim has been higher —to infuse an interest with respect to this delightful and profitable study. This attained, the details will not be long in acquisition. He who studies Natural History aright, will aim to reach a higher attainment than a mere knowledge of the name and history of each individual being on earth, were such a thing attainable in man's short life. The aim should be to discover the connection between the various parts of creation, with the relations they mutually sustain to the Creator and Upholder of them all. When soul and body, with their powers all rightly cultivated, are

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thus brought into loving connection and communion with the external world, sermons are heard from stones and trees, from beasts and birds, from fishes and insects—sermons to win from vice and purify the life. Nor can he who thus attentively listens fail to hear as an application from them all: "The hand that made us is divine."

Article V.—Turretin on Calling, Question Second, Translated.

Whether are the rebrobate, who become partakers of external calling, called with the design and intention on the part of God, that they may become partakers of salvation? And whether, when this is denied, would it follow that God does not act sincerely, but hypocritically and dissemblingly, with them, or can be accused of any injustice? We deny.

This question is between us and the Lutherans, the Arminians, and advocates of universal grace, who, that they may affirm the universality of calling—at least with respect to the preaching of the gospel in the visible church—maintain that as many as are called by the Word are called by God with the intention of salvation; because otherwise God would deceive men, and would not act sincerely, but hypocritically, by offering them the grace which he notwithstanding is unwilling to bestow.

Although, indeed, we do not deny that the reprobate who live in the external communion of the church are called by

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God through the gospel, yet we deny that they are called with this design and intention that they may really become partakers of salvation, which God knows will never be, because he has determined otherwise concerning them in his decree. Neither on that account do we think that God can be accused of any hypocrisy or dissemulation, but that he ever acts in the highest degree seriously and sincerely.

That this may be perceived more distinctly, it is necessary to observe,

1st. That external calling is extended as well to the reprobate as to the elect, but in a different manner. To the elect it is extended primarily and directly, inasmuch as for their sake alone the ministry of the Gospel was instituted, that is, in order to collect the church and unite together the mystical body of Christ, (Eph. iv. 12); and if they were withdrawn from the world no preaching of the Gospel would any longer remain, because the word of God cannot fall to no purpose. (Isa. lv. 11.) But to the reprobate it is extended secondarily and indirectly, because they are mixed with the elect, who are known to God only, and calling cannot be indiscriminately directed to men, that it may accomplish its purpose according to the order of God, unless the reprobate even as well as the elect become partakers of it. Thus the fisherman, in casting his net, intends only to take the good fishes, but also indirectly collects together the bad mixed with the good.

2d. That the end of calling is to be viewed in two ways —either on the part of God or on the part of the thing itself which is called, the end of the worker and the end of the work. For although both these ends harmonize in the elect, yet in others they are separated. As in legal preaching the end of the thing itself is life by the law, but the end of God since the introduction of sin cannot be the happiness of man, which, on account of sin, is rendered impossible to man by the law; but it is to convince man of his impotency, and to lead him to Christ, who is the end of the law. So in evangelical calling the end of the thing itself is the salvation of man, because from its nature it tends to this—

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that he by faith and repentance should be brought to salvation. But, at the same time, this is not the end of God with respect to all the called, but only with respect to those to whom he has decreed to give faith and salvation.

Moreover, this end of calling on the part of God, is either general with respect to all the called, or special with respect to the elect or the reprobate.

As to his general end, without doubt, it is to declare the authority of God and the duty of man, to exhibit the manner and way of salvation, and to promise salvation to those who may have the prescribed condition. But his special end with respect to the elect proceeds further—that is, to the actual bestowment of salvation on them. Hence he calls them, not only imperatively, but also efficaciously—not merely prescribing duty, but also executing the same—by working inwardly through the Spirit what he enjoins outwardly through the word. And his special end, with respect to the reprobate, is their conviction and inexcusableness.

As this calling, indeed, arises from a three-fold principle, so it has a three-fold purpose. 1. It arises from the authority of the *Lawgiver*, who has a right to prescribe to man his duty. 2. From the goodness and grace of the *Lord*, who ceases not to do good to the creature—though unworthy and guilty—by pointing out the way of salvation and bestowing various benefits. 3. From the justice of the Judge, who wills to convince and render inexcusable the obstinate and rebellious sinner. From whence flows a three-fold purpose. The first is the prescription of duty, that man may know what God requires of him, and what he owes to God, namely, that he should believe and repent. The second is the promise of benefits under a proposed condition, that he may know what God has determined to bestow upon those who believe and repent. The third is to detect the depravity of the heart of man, (Luke ii. 35); and when his obstinacy is supposed to render him inexcusable, (John xv. 22,) that both man himself, in his own conscience, and also others in reality, may know the ven-

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geance of God to be just against that servant, who, when he knew his Master's will, and that he ought to do it, yet neither did it nor was willing to do it, (Luke xii. 47.)

Hence it appears that the question is not concerning the end of calling in general on the part of the thing itself: this we do not deny to be salvation; but it is concerning the end of calling on the part of God. It is not whether God wills to impart any grace to the rebrobate above those who are destitute of this privilege, such as the heathen and other unbelievers?—But does he intend to grant them saving grace or salvation? and does he call them with this design, that they may really become partakers of such grace, so that if it happens otherwise, it must come to pass contrary to the intention of God and by accident? Our opponents affirm: we deny.

Again, the question is not, whether the result of external calling is the same with respect to all, and whether all the called are affected in the same manner. For those with whom we contend confess that it is very different, and that some who despise the heavenly voice of the Gospel, or do not proceed so far as to saving repentance, are thus rendered inexcusable; but others, who attend the word, yield to the singular grace of God and to the power and efficacy of his Spirit, inclining their mind and heart to obedience; from which it appears that the salvation which they attain was designed for them. But the question is, whether the disparity of the result does not prove a difference of intention in him who calls, or all are called with this mind and intention that they may become partakers of salvation? Which they assert, and we deny.

The reasons in proof of our position are as follows:—

1. God cannot in calling intend the salvation of those whom he has reprobated from eternity, and to whom he has decreed to deny faith and the other means leading to salvation; otherwise he must intend what he knows to be contrary to his will, and what he knew in eternity would never come to pass; and would not come to pass, because he himself, who alone has the power, wills not to perform it.

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This, as every one sees, is repugnant to the wisdom, goodness, and power of God.

2. God does not intend faith in the reprobate; therefore, he does not intend salvation, which cannot be secured without faith. But, that he does not intend faith in the reprobate, may be inferred from the fact that he does not give it to them, and has not decreed to give it, nay, rather, has determined to withhold it. Nor does it help the matter to reply that God does not, indeed, intend to *produce* faith in the reprobate, but yet he intends and wills that they should have it. Because this intention either has respect to the future existence itself of the thing, in which sense God cannot be said to intend it—for when it is not to be given to the reprobate, it must be wanting in his intention—or it has respect merely to his will in giving them the injunction of faith. In this sense we do not deny that God intends it; but thus it will be resolved into the will of God approving and commanding, concerning which we are not treating.

3. Christ, in the calling of the reprobate Jews, testifies that he had their inexcusableness as his proposed end. He is said "to have come to exercise judgment, that they who see might not see"—that is, that they who profess to see, and yet do not see, might be made more and more blind, (John ix. 39.) And "if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin," (chap. xv. 22.) Neither should it be said that Christ does not speak concerning the intention of God in calling, but concerning the result of calling, as God can have a most holy intention, with which the result, neverthe less, in no wise corresponds. Because nothing can happen to God by accident and contrary to his intention. Hence this result must have been intended by God from eternity. But, moreover, the declaration that they had not had sin, if Christ had not come, is to be understood—not absolutely and simply—but comparatively, that is to say, so long as the despised and rejected Gospel was not announced to them, they had not such sin as they committed after their calling; but they did not, therefore, cease to be guilty of sins committed against the law.

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4. Those who are called with the intention of salvation are called (*κατα προθεσιν*) according to a purpose, because this intention is an act of election and the effect (*προθεσεως*) of the purpose of God. But it is certain that none of the reprobate are called (*κατα προθεσιν*) according to the purpose of God, because thus they would both love God, (Rom. viii. 28,) and would necessarily be justified and glorified. Since whom he called, them he also justified, &c. (Ver. 30.) And this cannot be declared concerning them.

5. Salvation according to the intention of God is promised to none but those who have the prescribed condition—such as the laboring and heavy-laden, (Mat. xi. 28,) the thirsting, (Isaiah lv. 1,)* the believing and repenting, (Acts ii. 38.) And, since this cannot be declared concerning the reprobate, it cannot be said that they are in like manner called by God with the intention that they may be saved.

6. It can no more be said that God calls all men and every individual with the intention that they may be saved, than with the intention that they may be damned—if, indeed, a conditional promise includes the opposite threatening—so that every unbeliever must be damned, as every

* Though the position is correct that salvation is promised only to those who have the prescribed condition, yet our author evidently errs in employing Isa. lv. 1, and Matt. xi. 28, in order to illustrate and confirm this position. It is not the promise, but the offer or invitation of the gospel, that is addressed to men in these passages; and accordingly the persons addressed are not believers only, but sinners of mankind as such. In Isa. lv. 1 this invitation is directed to every one that thirsteth —not that thirsts for God the living God—not that thirsts for righteousness—it is not limited to those that thirst for any specific object, but extended to all that thirst, that is, desire happiness, whatever may be the object in which they are seeking it; and this is true of all men. That it cannot be limited to those seeking happiness in Christ, but applies to those seeking it in the vain things of the world, is evident from the following verse, where the very persons here addressed are represented as "spending their money for that which is not bread, and their labor for that which satisfieth not.'. And so, as all men have been subjected to misery and toil in consequence of sin, none can be excluded from the number of those that "labor and are heavy laden" to whom our Lord directs the invitation of the gospel. (Matt. vi. 28.)

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believer is to be saved. As, therefore, it is absurd to say with respect to the elect, that God calls them with the intention that they may be damned, when he has decreed to fulfill the condition in them; so, not less absurd is it to say that he calls the reprobate with the intention that they may be saved, when he knows that they never will have the condition; nay, rather, when he who alone can give it has decreed to deny it to them. No more can it be concluded that God wills all to be saved, because he indiscriminately promises the remission of sins and salvation to all if they repent, than that he is unwilling for any to be saved, because he denounces malediction and death upon all unless they repent and are converted.

We shall now answer objections. Though God does not intend the salvation of the reprobate in calling them, yet he acts in the highest degree seriously and sincerely, and no stain of hypocrisy and dissemulation can be cast upon him. It cannot with respect to God himself, because seriously and most correctly he shows them the only and most sure way to salvation; seriously exhorts them to pursue it, and to all those who shall have pursued it—that is, by believing and repenting—he most sincerely promises salvation;—neither does he promise only, but he in reality confers it according to his promise. And it cannot with respect to men, because the offer of salvation is not made to them absolutely, but under a condition; and, therefore, it pledges nothing except when the condition is supposed, which is wanting on the part of men.* Hence with both arms we

* Our author here, and in some other places, evidently fails to discriminate sufficiently between the offer and the promise of salvation. The offer of salvation to sinners in the word of God, is absolutely free and unconditional. It is the promise of salvation that is made to sinners under a condition; but then we must carefully observe that it is a condition—not of merit nor of antecedent congruity—but merely of order and connection among the blessings of salvation. For example, the promise of all the other blessings of salvation is made to and supposes faith, and consequently regeneration in the persons to whom it is directed; yet, regeneration and faith are as absolutely gifts of divine grace as the other blessings with which they have an antecedent connection.

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embrace what is declared by the fathers of the Synod of Dort on this subject, (chap. iv. thes. 8.) "As many as are called by the Gospel are called sincerely; for seriously and most correctly does God show in his word what is grateful to himself, namely, that those called should come to him; sincerely, also, to all those who come to him and believe he promises the rest of their souls and eternal life." He who in calling men reveals that he wills their salvation, and yet does not will it, acts dissemblingly if it be understood of the same will, that is, if he reveal that he wills it with the will of decree and yet does not, or with the will of precept and yet does not. But when there is a reference to a different will this does not in like manner avail; for example, if he reveal that he wills something with the will of precept, and yet does not will it with the will of decree, there is here no dissimulation or hypocrisy. Thus, in enjoining his law upon men, God reveals his will that they should fulfill it with respect to approbation and command but not at the same time with respect to decree. Now, in calling God does not, indeed, reveal that he wills the salvation of the called with the will of precept and approbation, but not with the will of decree. For calling shows what God wills to command man to do, but not what he shall have decreed to do himself. It teaches what is grateful and acceptable to God, and agreeable to his nature, namely, that those called should come to him, but not what he himself may have determined to do in relation to man. It indicates what God is ready to

They, however, are nowhere promised to unbelievers or sinners as such. God communicates them—not in virtue of any promise by which he has bound himself to sinners—but according to his sovereign good pleasure and in pursuance of his secret purposes of mercy in the everlasting covenant. If an absolute and unconditional promise of salvation were made to sinners, then the truth and faithfulness of God would be pledged for its fulfillment, and he might truly be charged with deception in the case of the reprobate who perish. But such is not the case with regard to the offer of salvation, though it is unconditionally made to all; because the offer of a benefit by no means pledges the truth and faithfulness of the offerer for its bestowment, unless the offer be accepted.

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give to those who believe and repent, but not what he actually may have decreed to give to this or that one.

It is one thing to will the reprobate to come, that is, to command them to come and hold it to be grateful. It is another thing not to will them to come, that is, to be unwilling to give them the power to come. God in calling them can will the former and yet not the latter, without any inconsistency; because that has respect only to the will of precept, but this to the will of decree. These, though different, because they have different ends in view—the former looking to the injunction of duty, but the latter to the execution of it—yet are not contrary and opposite, but eminently harmonize in various respects.

I confess that he does not seriously call, who does not will the called to come—that is, does not command it and hold it to be grateful that he should come. But I deny that he does not, who does not will the called to come *where* he calls—that is, does not intend and decree that he should come. For, in order to a sincere calling, it is not required that there be an intention and design of bringing the person, but only that there be the constant will of commanding the duty and conferring the benefit upon him who performs it; and so God wills in the highest degree sincerely. But though God seriously shows what is enjoined upon man, what is the way of salvation, and what is grateful to himself, yet, as we have already declared concerning his legislation, he does not at the same time show what he himself may have intended and decreed to do. And if a prince or legislator among men enjoins nothing which he does not will—that is, intend also to be performed by his subjects, because it is not in his power to effect it in them, it does not follow that the same is true in relation to God, upon whom alone it depends, not only to enjoin duty, but also to effect it in man. But, if such a legislator were granted among men, he might properly be said to will what he approves and commands, though he intends not to effect it.

An absolute promise cannot be sincere, unless it is founded in the will and intention of the promiser to give what is

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promised. But a conditional promise is different: it is sufficient to preserve the sincerity of it, that there be the intention in God of most certainly connecting the thing promised with the condition; so that the latter can by no means occur but the former must accompany it. Hence it comes to pass, that on account of such connection and dependence, the offer of salvation which is made to believers is in the highest degree sincere; because no one is about to have faith who will not most certainly obtain salvation.

The language of external calling ought to be the representation of some decree upon which it depends; yet, at the same time, it is not of the decree concerning the salvation of particular persons, but concerning the means of salvation and their connection with it. The foundation of calling in general, as it is indiscriminately directed to men, is the decree concerning the collecting of the church by the word. The foundation of calling with respect to the elect, is the special decree concerning the bestowment upon these persons, respectively, of that salvation acquired for them by Christ. The foundation, with respect to the reprobate, is the decree concerning the order and connection of the means of salvation, and concerning their proposal to and injunction upon men. The language of calling, therefore, is the representation of that decree by which God has constituted an indissoluble connection between faith and salvation. And, because the word proposes this, no dissimulation can be ascribed to God, since it proposes nothing which is not perfectly true.

The faith in Christ, which is prescribed to us in calling, is not prescribed in relation to all its acts at the same time and at once, but gradually and successively—first in relation to its general and direct acts, afterwards in relation to its special and reflex—first in relation to the act of assent and taking refuge, afterwards in relation to the act of reposing in Christ as having died for me. Nay, indeed, the latter acts are not enjoined, except when the former ones are supposed. In vain, therefore, is it said that the promise of salvation, according to our sentiment, is made under

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a condition which cannot be fulfilled without believing a falsehood. For it is prescribed to men, that they should believe in the direct act of faith, that Christ is a real and complete Saviour of all those who sincerely flee to him for refuge by faith and repentance, and this can be believed without falsehood even by those for whom Christ has not died.

The promises and threatenings, added to the commands of God, express nothing more in regard to the mind and intention of God than the commands themselves. They truly show what belongs to the will of God commanding, but not what belongs to his will decreeing, which strictly speaking should be called the will of God. As, therefore, the Holy Spirit uses these in regard to the elect, as motives suited to the human disposition for promoting their conversion; so he wills them to subserve no other purpose among those whom God does not intend to convert and actually bring back to salvation, than partly to show the necessary connection between faith and salvation, and partly to render them inexcusable.

The invitation to the marriage, which is proposed in Mat. xxii., teaches, indeed, that the King wills: that is, commands and holds it to be grateful that those invited should come, and that this is their duty; but not that he intends or has decreed that they should really come—otherwise he would have given them the power to come and inclined their hearts. And, since he did not do this, it is a most certain evidence that he did not will them to come in this way. Nor, when all things are said to be ready, (Luke xiv. 17,) is there at the same time any intimation of the intention of God in regard to the bestowment of salvation, but only of the sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ. He was prepared by God and offered upon the cross, as a victim of infinite value, to atone for the sins of men, and acquire salvation for all those who come and flee to him with the wedding garment—that is, truly believing and repenting. Hence there remains no reason to entertain a doubt in regard to the truth and perfection of his satisfaction.

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Although the intention of the pastors who call ought to be conformed to the intention of God, by whom they are sent to call men in this respect—that they are bound according to the order of God to invite all their hearers indiscriminately to repentance and faith as the only way of salvation, and, when these are supposed, to salvation itself —and that they ought not to intend anything else than the collection of the church or the salvation of the elect, to accomplish which they are co-workers with God. Yet they also differ in this respect—that the omnicient God distinctly knows who are the elect and who are the reprobate among the hearers of the Gospel. He wills severally to save the former, but not the latter. But ministers being destitute of this knowledge, know not to whose salvation their ministry may be about to contribute. Not being able to distinguish between the elect and the reprobate, they charitably forebode well of all, not daring to judge concerning the reprobation of any. Therefore, promiscuously and indiscriminately, they address all the called, even according to the order of God, yet, like God, intending the salvation of none but the elect. Thus they perform nothing in this ministry which does not correspond both with the command and intention of God; though God being conscious of his decree, proceeds further, and distinctly intends the conversion and salvation, or the inexcusableness of particular persons.

The foundation of consolation is not overthrown, even though in the preaching of the Gospel there may be some diversity between the intention of God and of the minister. Because it is sufficient to secure this, that they agree in the general intention and primary design of collecting a church for God, which he may sanctify and glorify, and of calling for this purpose all who repent and believe, to salvation. The diversity, however, which occurs in regard to the knowledge of particular reprobate and elect persons, whom God alone knows and not ministers, cannot destroy consolation or afford a just cause of despondency, any more than the particularity of election and the immutable decree of

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reprobation. For, as it is not the intention of God in calling to admit the reprobate into his communion—his decree of reprobation being revoked—so it should not be of ministers, who, strictly speaking, should intend the salvation of none but the elect, though, from the duty of charity, they can also desire, and as much as in them is, promote the salvation of others.

It is one thing for God to indicate in his word, even to those not about to believe, that faith and repentance are the most certain and infallible means of obtaining salvation. It is another thing for God to make this external declaration of his word among those not about to believe, with *this design*, that they may actually believe and be saved. For if he seriously entertained this design, he would add to the external preaching the internal power of the Spirit, without which it must ever remain ineffectual.

It is not repugnant to the wisdom of God to be willing to command, and, in fact, to command those things which he, notwithstanding, certainly knows will not be performed by those upon whom it may have been enjoined. Because he wills to exhibit his right and man's duty not less than his goodness and justice by such command. But it is repugnant for God, absolutely and simply, to will and intend what he yet not only knows will never come to pass, but even what he himself has decreed not to come to pass.

Though God offers his word to the reprobate for this purpose, that when their obstinacy is supposed they may be rendered inexcusable, he does not, therefore, offer it with the design that they may reject it; for this is a sin which God neither intends nor produces. But his design is that the secret perversity of their hearts may be revealed, (Luke ii. 35,) and that through this rejection of the word, which arises from man himself, he may have an occasion of manifesting his justice in the infliction of punishment. Though man, indeed, cannot receive the word without the grace which God does not will to bestow, we are not, therefore, to think that God calls him in order that he may reject it; because this rejection does not result intrinsically from the

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nature of calling, but extraneously from the corruption of man himself. For, though he cannot receive the word without grace, yet his rejection of it flows from no other source than his own obstinate malice.

Man does not cease to be inexcusable because he does not do what God commands, though he may be doing what God intends. Thus Herod and Pontius Pilate were not the less inexcusable, even though they did nothing except that which the hand and counsel of God had before determined to be done, (Acts iv. 28.) Because not the decree but the precept alone is the rule of our actions.

To render man inexcusable, it is sufficient to take away from him the pretext of ignorance and not of impotency; because he is accustomed to make an excuse of his ignorance, but never of his impotency. For, as far as his pride prevails, man always persuades himself that he can do whatever is prescribed, and is sufficiently convinced, that he sins through obstinate malice, when he is defective in duty. The pretext of ignorance, at least, should be taken away, because he pleads, as an excuse, that it is by no means chosen and voluntary; but there is not the same reason with respect to his impotency, since it is voluntary and assumed. Man is not bound to know what is not revealed; but he is bound to perform even that for which he is rendered impotent by sin, and consequently it can be required of him.

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Article VI.—Antagonism Essential to Development.

When the arch-tempter was persuading our first mother to eat of that tree of which God had commanded that she and her husband should not eat, he said, among other things, "God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." No doubt that Satan thought he was lying, so far as the good was concerned, and that he intended to lie, and bring his hapless victims under the awful curse, which, like a hot thunderbolt, had fallen upon himself. Little did he imagine that that all-controlling Power which he had defied was at that moment constraining him to utter unwittingly a glorious truth. Little did he imagine that the cruel and diabolical work in which he was at that moment engaged would unveil to the gaze of all holy intelligences a hitherto unknown attribute of the great Creator; and that, through the breach he was making, should ONE enter into this ruined world, glorious in holiness, traveling in the greatness of his strength, leading captivity captive, and securing a brighter glory to God, and richer blessings to man, than could ever have accrued from mere human obedience, however perfect.

It seems to be the law of all created mind that it can know nothing clearly except by contrast. Common vision is subject to the same law; for we can only see an object by contrasting it with its surroundings. Take the simplest illustration that presents itself. The letters upon the page before the reader are clearly seen, because they are black, while the paper upon which they are impressed is white. Were both black, or both white, there would be no contrast, and the letters would be invisible, and no thought, no idea, could be conveyed to the mind of him who should gaze

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upon it. If we follow the researches of our outward senses, and also of our mental operations, we shall find that the same law governs all.

Well, if this be true, would we, or could we, have right views of good in the absence of evil? Could we appreciate it or enjoy it? If any one says we could, will he tell us how? As well might we attempt to read a page printed with ink as white as the paper, or talk of heights where there are no depths, as of good in the total ignorance of evil. We must know both good and evil in order to know either aright. God, in his wisdom, seems to have so ordained; and in all his works of creation, providence and grace we find the same unvarying law. We see everything, and understand everything, only by contrast with its opposite. We do not say that good does not exist independent of evil, for that were to ignore the infinitely good God, in whom there is no shadow of evil; all we contend for is, that it has pleased Him to make us incapable of forming just views of good except through the knowledge, either by observation or experience, of its opposite. That He could have made us capable of knowing and enjoying good, without ever having even the idea of evil, is not to be doubted or disputed; but that he has not done so, either in the case of angels or men, appears to be clearly established. That angels have passed through a period of probation is proven from the fact that some of them are saved, and confirmed in holiness, and some are lost. What the nature of that probation was, when it was, where it was, or what Divine influences were brought to bear upon the respective subjects, it were presumptuous to inquire; but, in the coming ages, after the great drama of man's probation and the salvation of the elect shall have closed, and the countless multitude of the redeemed shall have taken their places in the kingdom prepared for them before the foundation of the world, they will, as our Saviour informs us, "be as the angels," while, at the same time, as Satan was constrained to express it, they "shall be as gods, knowing good and evil"—bearing the scars which evil and sin inflicted, as we believe the

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glorified body of our Lord will forever bear the marks of the thorns, the nails, and the spear. Sin, although completely done away, will doubtless leave its marks; and the glorified saint will never lose sight of "the hole of the pit whence he was digged.'

The whole universe is full of antagonistic forces, and to these we owe all the harmonious activities which declare the glory of God and show forth his handy-work; and in the moral universe, so far as we are permitted to observe it, we find the same thing. There sin and holiness are the great opposing forces. The awful fact is ever before us that God in his infinite wisdom has made his rational and intelligent creatures capable of rebelling against himself, and that they have availed themselves of the ability is most painfully manifest to us all. That the antagonism of sin to holiness is necessary to the perfect development and exercise of holiness in creatures appears to be a truth fully proven by what we see around us, and also by our individual experience. That it is used to call forth the activities of the moral universe is perfectly apparent. And what is more astonishing than all is, that it is amidst the ravages of sin and the ruins of the fall that we find the brightest and most glorious displays of the divine character. Upon the dark background of a fallen and wicked world God has portrayed the brightness of his own glory in the face of Jesus Christ. It needed the contrasted darkness of Gethsemane, of Pilate's hall and of Calvary to enable us to see the glories of the Eternal Son; and we may safely assume that the angels of heaven, who had for ages worshiped in his presence, never saw his glory as they saw it then. That amazing exhibition of immaculate purity, in contrast with the extreme of wickedness, of infinite moral beauty surrounded by all that can be conceived of moral blackness and deformity, would impart such intensity to that glory as would overwhelm them in astonishment and adoration. Thus, by contrast, in accordance with the universal law of which we are speaking, does God, who dwells in light inaccessible, develop to his creatures his glory, and put forth by

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tolerated antagonism the infinite activities of his nature and his attributes.

But this is an awful subject; so let us descend to the consideration of the workings of the same law amongst ourselves.

In our first parents in Eden, before the fall, there were two opposing forces, both of which were good in themselves. One was the obligation to obey the express command of the Almighty, which, appealing as it did to the higher or moral nature of the creature, was supreme, and ought to have been kept so. The other was the instinctive desire of the animal nature for gratification, and for which abundant provision had been made; for God had said, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat," reserving only one as a test of obedience. The fruit of this forbidden tree, we are told, was "pleasant to the eye," and it also appeared to be good for food. Had it not been so it would have afforded no test of obedience, because in that case it could not have excited that desire to eat of it which it did excite. Here we see that God set two antagonist forces one against the other, and so balanced that one should not *necessarily* overcome the other. We know the result.

> "She plucked, she ate:
> Earth felt the wound; and Nature from her seat,
> Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
> That all was lost."

No, the poet is wrong: *all was not lost.* God was no more foiled and baffled in his holy purpose at that moment than he was when Judas betrayed his Son into the hands of sinful men. At that moment commenced the development of his glorious plan of salvation, purposed from eternity, and which, in his adorable wisdom, he has drawn forth by means of an unbroken series of antagonisms. He suffers men and devils to oppose him at every step. Sin in the heart resists his gracious overtures of mercy. Sin, in every imaginable form, opposes him in the outer world. Jesus fought these outer opposing forces even unto death; and of

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that immaculate One, that Prince, Warrior, Captain, it is said that even he was made perfect through suffering; and to every one of his followers he has given a battle to fight, so that they, like himself, shall be made perfect through suffering. What could we have known of the Son of God had he met with no opposition? It was that opposition that developed to us the glories of his character and nature —by that we know that he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners;" and in the same manner we learn what is "the breadth, and length, and depth, and heighth" of his love.

By a similar process is our own nature developed. By being made the centre of a strange system of opposing forces, within us, around us, and above us, our character is drawn out, developed, strengthened and established. In Eden the flesh gained the mastery over the spirit, and ever since that primal revolt the nature of man has been one of rebellion, usurpation and anarchy, which is necessarily, as the Catechism expresses it, a state of sin and misery. Appetite jars with appetite, the mind wars with the body, propensity opposes propensity, so that the awful truth that "there is no peace to the wicked" becomes a universally felt and acknowledged fact. Yet these opposing forces in the natural man have their use. Even we can see the wisdom of the arrangement; for they tend to develop, to draw out the character of the man, and compel him to yearn, as it were, instinctively after a better rest than either the wealth of a well-stored mind, or the riches and pleasures of this world, can afford.

In this perturbed condition the Holy Spirit finds him; but that is a power which is in antagonism with his whole nature; and sloth may fight with avarice, pride with meanness, and self with society; but when that heavenly agency is brought to bear upon him, they all combine in opposition, as Herod and Pilate combined against Jesus, although at variance before.

In the moral universe there are no resistless forces, as we generally understand that word: but it is governed by *influences*—influences as universally antagonistic as are the

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forces of the material universe; and they bear a close analogy to those beautiful and nicely balanced powers or forces which keep the planets in their orbits. The spirit of man is naturally at enmity with God. There is a natural antagonism; and although the power of the one is infinite and that of the other is as nothing in the comparison, yet he himself speaks of *striving* with man. It is an awful thought that the Almighty so regulates the strength of his own spiritual influence that man can and does strive in opposition to him. "O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, *and ye would not!*" By this marvellous adjustment of moral forces the freedom of the sinner is preserved; and yet, in opposition to all the antagonism of his nature, he is saved, and willingly saved. Among all the wonders of redemption there is nothing more wonderful than this. He is drawn, but not forced; captured, and is still free; overcome, but not contrary to his own will. He is *made willing.*

In this momentous struggle between God's Spirit and the carnal heart the character of man is developed. The hidden, unimagined evils of his heart are made manifest; just as the desperate wickedness of the generation among whom Christ appeared, was drawn forth and made manifest to all by the mighty power of his teachings and example. They imagined that they would have joyfully welcomed prophets such as their fathers had killed; and, in their self-delusion, they had garnished and adorned their tombs, while hating, opposing, persecuting, and ultimately murdering their own Messiah, the great Prophet, of whom all other prophets had borne witness.

How much would we have known of the characters of John, and Peter, and Judas, but for the power of temptation that was brought to bear upon them? Or how much would they themselves have known? Even the Master himself made known his purity, and wisdom, and power, so

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that we could perceive and understand them, by permitting all manner of adverse moral forces to operate against him. His resistance of evil developed to the ken of angels and men the glories of his divinity, his immaculate moral character, and the immeasurable length and breadth, and heighth and depth of his goodness and mercy. We might have reasoned and meditated upon these things, but we never could have had any right conception of them, had we not seen them bodied forth in living exemplification in his life; and, but for the opposition he met with, even he could not have shown them to beings constituted as we are. We know that this is the way that Infinite Wisdom chose to develop to man the moral glories of the Divine nature; and from this we may with great confidence infer that it was the better way, although we dare not say that it was the only possible way; for it would be presumptuous in us to attempt to fathom the resources of God's administrative wisdom and power, or limit the Holy One of Israel.

If this great law of development by antagonism operates in the higher departments of the Divine government in this world, we may be very sure that it extends to the lower. If even the Captain of our salvation was made perfect through suffering, and that suffering was the result of the opposition brought to bear against him by wicked men and more wicked devils, surely a similar ordeal is needful to draw out, strengthen and perfect the graces of his saints. An apostle tells us that Christ was tempted in all points as we are. If it was essential to the development and the perfecting of his character as our Saviour, our Leader, our Exemplar, how can we expect, or hope, or desire to be exempt from the same course of discipline that brought forth such glorious results in the person of our Lord? "My brethren," says James, "count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations; knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience. But let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing." This is a very full and comprehensive assertion of the great principle we are discussing; but how strangely at variance with the Apostles injunction are the views and desires of nearly

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all Christians! And yet to desire exemption from opposition and antagonism is not wrong in itself, but rather otherwise. "Lead us not into temptation" is a petition taught us by the Lord himself; and everywhere in the Scriptures we are enjoined to avoid every influence calculated to draw us aside from the paths of rectitude. Still, although this is true, we know that it is God's pleasure to suffer us to fall into temptations and trials. "Simon, Simon," said Jesus, "Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat." But why, we might ask, should the diabolical desire be gratified? Precisely the same reason could be assigned in that case as in the trial of the genuineness of Job's piety. Not, certainly, for the gratification of the malice of the great enemy, but for the glory of God, the good of both the men, and the profit of God's people in all ages. They both needed their respective trials, and the church needed the lessons which the experience of their fall and rise again furnished. The Divine goodness and faithfulness were gloriously illustrated in both cases, and both those persons are brighter saints to-day in heaven for the terrible test which the faith of each of them underwent. These are illustrious examples of the development of character and the growth of grace through the influence of antagonism. Peter wept bitterly; yet from the day that he was called into the kingdom of heaven, until the day when his martyred spirit ascended to glory, no one thing probably did him so much good as that satanic sifting; and that, we may be sure, was the reason why it was permitted. The natural man—and Peter, up to that time, had no small amount of that in him—was completely subdued; and as that was subdued, grace triumphed; and henceforward Peter was weak in himself, but strong and of good courage in the Lord. His natural intrepidity was not taken away, but sanctified.

The carnal mind is enmity against God; and that enmity becomes an intensely active principle under the strivings of the Holy Spirit, and fights until it is overcome. Then the soul yields itself a *willing* captive; and it does so, not because its own proper power is overcome or taken away, but only because the enmity is slain. "Thy people

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shall be *willing* in the day of thy power." Sometimes, however, the conflict results in the sad triumph of the sinner over gracious influences, and the awful sentence is uttered—"Joined to his idols, let him alone!" Then, for the remainder of his life, the strong man armed keepeth his goods in peace.

But as we descend into the common walks of human life, with its endless variety of avocations, we find the same law everywhere in operation; and, if rightly viewed, we see in it the same evidences of wisdom and goodness. Immediately after the fall, God said to Adam, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow (painful toil) shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns, also, and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Oh, what a conflict was then inaugurated between man and the rugged, stubborn, bramble-bearing earth!—a conflict which began with Adam, and which must continue until the resurrection call shall awake the dead and change the living. From that struggle for bread spring alike nearly all the beneficent and destructive activities of man. It draws forth and makes strong both the good and the evil powers of his nature. But for it he would sink down into a condition more sluggish and inert than that of any other animal. From this necessity to toil for subsistence, comes all the civilization that has yet been attained, and, at the same time, to it may be traced all the injustice, fraud and oppression that have cursed the earth. "Eat bread" is, in this place, a concrete put for an abstract phrase, and comprehends food, raiment, shelter, and all the necessaries of life.

There is something exceedingly interesting and instructive in the close and careful consideration of this conflict of man with the earth. Air to breathe, which is the most essential element in the support of life, God supplies without any labor on the creature's part. Water is next, and that is supplied almost as freely. Then come food, raiment, shelter from the elements, fuel, and other things which are deemed necessaries. See how the scale descends from air

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to fire. As man rises in the scale of civilization the number of things which he regards as essential to his comfort and well-being increases; but it is not necessary to the present discussion to trace them, particularly, any further. It pleased God to supply the two most important elements of life—air and water—himself; but the supply of the third, to wit, food, he was pleased to impose upon man's own physical toil. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread;" and however some individuals may contrive to shirk their proper share of toil, yet it is inexorably true of man as a race, "He that will not work, neither shall he eat." Toil is one of the conditions of life, and he who accepts it with a grateful and cheerful spirit, as a wise and benevolent ordination, is the happiest man.

But in the nice adjustment of the powers of man and the ruggedness and stubbornness of the earth, the one to the other, we have a beautiful example of that infinite wisdom which shines as brightly in the affairs of earth as in the sublime harmonies of the stars of heaven; that perfect balancing of forces which preserves every part in order and subordination. Were the earth more untractable and less prolific, man could not live without oppressive and crushing toil; were it more so, he would not have enough of labor to keep him above indolence, listlessness and enervation. "Cursed is the ground for thy sake," said the Almighty Judge and Friend of man; "thorns, also, and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;" and then with these thorns and thistles, these brambles and briars, he ordained a perpetual war, giving man sufficient power, with a reasonable and wholesome degree of mental and physical activity and industry, to subdue these enemies, with their ten thousand allies found in air, water, earth, rock, and in many members of the animal creation. SUBDUE the earth, was the first command given to man, an order which, in its very terms, presupposed effort, labor, conflict.

In all this world of warfare, this vast aggregation of antagonisms, the Creator and Redeemer of man enables him to become a victor over all opposition. In conflict with

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natural antagonists, such as we have just named, he gives natural strength; and to enable him to overcome his spiritual foes, both within and without, he imparts sufficient spiritual strength. "*My grace is sufficient*" is his everlasting promise; and *I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me*, is, or ought to be, the echoing rseponse of every believer.

Let us imagine, if we can, a man who has reached a mature age without having had to encounter a struggle with any antagonist force, either natural or spiritual, who has had no desire but what has been gratified without any painful effort on his part, who has always done right because he had no motive to do otherwise, who has suffered nothing from pain, or sickness, or bereavements, or sympathetic grief—in a word, one whose life has not been a warfare, but who has been wafted gently and peacefully down the stream of time, doing neither good nor evil. Such a man could not be a Christian, because he has neither performed nor suffered the conditions essential to that character. He could not be called a good man, for his moral qualities have not been tested. He is a mere negative; there is nothing positive about him. His character has not been developed—he has no character. From all that has yet transpired we could form no opinion as to how he would act in the great battle of life. He might put forth qualities of moral heroism that would give him a high place among the great and good, the faithful and true; or he might be swept to perdition by the first blast of temptation or trial that assailed him. How foolish, sinful, and rebellious, therefore, are the commonly indulged desires for ease, and quiet, and exemption from trial in this militant state of existence!

The same principle governs our national life. It is better that it, too, should be full of antagonisms; and if there be any good in it at all, it will most assuredly be full of them. In politics, (we use the word in its higher and broader sense,) as in our individual and social, our natural and spiritual condition, it is only in the conflict between good

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and evil that good can be eliminated and rendered strong, manifest, active and triumphant. We must have both good and evil mixed up in our political system for the more perfect development of the good. But we cannot, without guilt, adopt evil from deliberate choice; for we are bound to exclude it as far as we are able. Still it will get in in spite of all that we can do. Social institutions among sinful men will necessarily partake of the character of the individuals composing the society; and evils of enormous magnitude will arise and call forth the most energetic effort on the part of the good to keep them from getting the mastery. This gives exercise to those better energies that would otherwise become inert. This keeps the waters pure through agitation, and calls out real and positive goodness in the human character in its social relations. Doubtless it was to this end that God permitted slavery to be incorporated in our great national fabric, just as he put thorns and thistles into the soil of the earth, and then said, "SUBDUE IT." He made the American people free and strong, as he made Adam, and having breathed into their nostrils the breath of national life, he put them into a garden, as he did Adam, "to dress it and keep it." To each he gave an allotted task. There was a lying serpent in Adam's garden, as there is any number of them in ours; but he gave to Adam dominion over the serpent; and his great sin was committed in consequence of his allowing the serpent to get dominion over him. Now, the greatest serpent in our garden is Slavery. It draws its sustenance from avarice, pride, lust of power and dominion, and from aversion to wholesome, heaven-imposed labor. As a nation we first thought of killing it, and did give it a few blows. Afterwards its presence in the garden was tolerated, because it had been in so long, and had so entwined itself around many things, even the church, that to destroy it would, it was feared, destroy them. This toleration soon grew into favor; and, in process of time, a large portion of the people of the nation claimed for the serpent the right to live, and grow, and thrive upon the good things of the garden to any extent. By and by, however, it manifested a disposition to

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take full and exclusive possession; but as this could not be allowed, the people resolved to restrict its sway and feeding ground to certain limits; but this so enraged it that it became furious, began to lay waste the entire garden, and attempted to take possession of the central temple. Then a fierce conflict began, which is yet going on, and the end of which God alone can forsee. Our principal men seem to be unwilling to strike it—all they aim at is to keep it within its assigned limits, and, if possible, prevent any further destruction. The spirit of liberty fights with manacled hands, and with a sword encased in voluminous folds of red tape. But we pursue the figure no further.

This war is but an exemplification, on a gigantic scale, of the antagonism of which we are speaking, and which enters into every department of human life and experience, from the secret communings of the inmost soul to the outer circle of human society; and as we have shown that this universal warfare is essential to the growth, development and perfection of bodily, mental and spiritual life and vigor in the individual, so it is in the nation. Our nation needed this sore conflict, and it required an evil as vast as our system of slavery, and a pride as lofty as such a system could engender, to bring it about.

The great law of the kingdom of heaven is, "First pure, then peaceable;" and it is equally true of the race of man, that none are counted pure except those who have been made pure. The great Captain of our salvation had a mighty conflict, and was, as such, made perfect through suffering; and of the great company of his redeemed and glorified ones it is said: "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." Seven times, in his messages to the Asiatic churches, does Jesus promise great and glorious rewards "TO HIM THAT OVERCOMETH." Every message closes with the same militant phrase—"To him that overcometh."

Sad, sad would be our condition were this universal warfare to cease. Let our desire be to fight on, fight ever,

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until God himself shall "Speak comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished; that her iniquity is pardoned." In heaven there is no war, no antagonism, because there is no sin. But it is not so on earth. Even the Prince of Peace himself solemnly declared that he did not come to send peace on earth. As Jehu said to Joram, "What hast thou to do with peace?" so may it be said to this world. But, blessed be God, there is a peace even in this world, but yet above it—peace in believing, peace with God. "Peace," says Jesus, "I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." But this is a peace which the Christian can retain and enjoy in full measure, while involved in the fiercest outward conflicts.

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Article VII.—Luther and His Times.

In the history of Christianity there have been two grand events—its introduction and its reformation.

At the introduction of Christianity there was, not only a perfect and wonderful fulfillment of prophecy, but a concurrence of events providentially indicating the "fullness of time."

The Reformation, if not so fully a subject of prophecy, was not less clearly marked by Providence as an event fixed in the divine mind, and for the fulfillment of which the world was prepared by divine power. In the one case as in the other, there were the clearest indications of providential preparation.

One of these indications in respect to the Reformation, and a remarkable one, was in the civil state of the world at the time. There had been a time, a long, dark and bloody time, when papal authority could use at pleasure the civil powers of the earth for the speedy suppression of any movement towards reform. But the civil state of the world had now for many years been undergoing a gradual but radical change. The spell of feudalism had been completely broken in the time of the Crusades, and a spirit of freedom had been invoked that was becoming more and more impatient, as much of ecclesiastical as of civil despotism.

Civil government, it is true, on the subversion of feudalism in Western Europe, fell into fewer hands; but it was more enlightened, more powerful, and more independent of the ecclesiastical. And antagonistic as the events may appear, just with this concentration of power in civil rulers, did the tide of popular liberty begin to swell and surge to the shaking of all Europe.

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At the time of the Reformation the civil power of Europe was chiefly divided among four great rulers. Mightier men than any of them may have reigned before and since that time; but four mightier rulers never sat upon the thrones of Europe at the same time; Francis I. on the throne of France; Henry VIII. on the throne of England; Charles V. on the imperial throne of Germany; and Leo X. on the civil and ecclesiastical throne at Rome.

In a superficial view this distribution of civil power might seem unfavorable to the Reformation; but to closer observation the opposite of this will appear. The effect was to bind these despots in each other's chains, and make them comparatively powerless for evil. Their relations to each other were so precarious, their jealousies so rife, and their conflicts so bitter and often protracted, and the attachment and support of their subjects *felt* to be so needful, that they were compelled to show some respect for popular wishes, and often yield much to popular demands. But for this the Reformation, in its incipient stages, must have had to pass through a much more trying ordeal than it did.

If we confine our attention to Germany, it will be seen that the arrangement of civil affairs was singularly favorable to the rise and progress of the Reformation. The German Empire was a confederation of States over which the Emperor was vested with a limited and well-defined power. The laws of the empire were enacted by a Diet, composed of the princes or representatives of the different States. From seven of the most powerful of these princes, the Emperor received his crown, by which he became vested with authority to execute the decrees of the Diet, and exercise a general supervision over the States—a form of government answering in some respects to our own. The limited power of the Emperor, and the measure of independence of the several States, made it practicable to tolerate and even favor in one part of the empire what was forbidden in another. By this advantage the Reformation escaped much of the violence that was purposed against it. If Germany had been a monarchy such as France or even England was,

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and Charles V. had had power over the different States of his empire, such as either Francis I. or Henry VIII. had over all parts of his kingdom, it is easy to see how much less favorable it would have been for a reforming movement.

Not less remarkable than this general arrangement of Germanic power was the favorable influence of that prince in whose State the Reformation commenced. The Elector of Saxony, Frederic, surnamed the Wise, was by far the most influential of all the princes of Germany. Charles V. was indebted to him for his imperial crown, and could not afford to lose his favor. So that Frederick, in fact, was the ruling spirit of Germany; as good and noble as he was powerful. Under his auspices did God place the man chosen to wake up the mind of Europe, and restore a pure Christianity to the world.

The state of learning and of useful arts at the approach of the Reformation is, also, a very noticeable fact in the history of the times, especially as a part of the providential preparation. Intellectually, as well as spiritually, a night of a thousand years had rested on the earth. The flood of barbarism that had swept in upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, spread with more or less fury over all Europe. In this wide expanse of desolation, the light of science appeared in but occasional glimmerings, and these so dim as to be scarcely observable. What little learning existed for a time was confined to the clergy, and very few of them.

The first movings of these dark waters were some ages before the Reformation. In fact, the Crusades, which, as has been stated, awoke the spirit of liberty, had the effect of awakening at the same time a spirit of inquiry. A revival of learning gradually followed. Schools and colleges were multiplied. And before the time of the Reformation various sciences and systems of philosophy had begun to flourish in the West, and various important discoveries had been made, among them the mariner's compass, and with it our own continent, the after home of Protestantism; also

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the arts of printing and paper-making, which furnished the facilities for the rapid and wide-spread dissemination of the Scriptures and other writings of importance in defending and propagating the Reformed religion.

And while all this work of preparation had been going on outside of the church, there were within it many evidences of a growing impatience with the abominations that prevailed. Mosheim informs us, that from the eleventh century "there was an increasing number of pious and good men who deplored the imperfections and defects of the public religion, and of the whole clerical order, who opposed the lordly domination, both of the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops, and who attempted sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, to effect a reformation of the church." As we approach the 16th century, and the necessity becomes more pressing upon the minds of good men, the attempts at reformation become more bold.

Wickliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation," now appeared; shed a light, reflected fresh from the word of God, which illumined many minds in all classes of the population of England, the effects of which it required all the ingenuity and all the power of Rome even temporarily to suppress. Suppressed in England, it passed into Bohemia. Huss and Jerome of Prague, catching the fire of the English reformer, added to its brightness, and spread it in flames upon the darkness that surrounded them. Against them, with still more violence, does Papal power interpose. It was sought to obscure their light with flames that consumed their flesh; but the stakes of their glorious martyrdom became as centres of radiation from which the light and the power of truth went out over all Germany. But so impervious to it had become the minds of the masses, so stolid and stupefied from the long reign of ignorance and superstition, that the effect at first was little more than to excite a general dissatisfaction with the prevailing religion, and a general and earnest desire for something better. In Germany thus excited and thirsting for the truth, the Reformation of the 16th century commenced.

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There is one other important fact which should not pass unnoticed here. When God has a great work to be performed, he not only prepares the subject of it, and wisely arranges the sphere in which it is to be accomplished, but just as wisely chooses and prepares the instruments of it. This appears in all the great developments of the world's history. It has been said that "great occasions make great men," and that "great men ordinarily appear in constellations." This is doubtless true; but under it lies a deeper truth. Men are providentially raised up for great occasions; not made by the occasions, in the common acceptation of the phrase; but constituted and endowed by God *for* the occasions, and the development of their powers made to advance with the necessities of the work to which they are called.

Of no event is this more true than the Reformation. *There were giants in those days;* each one endowed with the peculiar power needed for the part he was called to act. Foremost of them all, first and mightiest in the most perilous part of the work, was Martin Luther. His history is substantially the history of the Reformation; he was its ruling genius, and his life and character furnish the key to the true knowledge of the nature of that great revolution.

Martin Luther was born Nov. 10th, 1483, at Eisleben, Saxony. His early years were spent in extreme poverty, but in the enjoyment of parental instruction and discipline of a better order than was common in the times. His education was commenced in a high school of Eisenach, and finished at the University of Erfurt. He took his degree of A. B. in 1505.

Shortly before this time is to be dated the commencement of his spiritual anxieties. He had studied with the view of entering the legal profession; but God had a special work for him, and at this point his mind is directed in a course of experience adapted at once to lead him to and prepare him for it.

He had always been of a pious disposition, according to the notions of piety then prevalent. In his early youth he had been accustomed, when seeking bread of public charity,

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to sing the songs and repeat the prayers of the church before the houses of his native village. And during his University course at Erfurth, with all the natural vivacity and earnest devotion to study by which he was distinguished, he had those serious thoughts which indicate the fear of God in the heart. Throughout his college life he always commenced the day with prayer, considering, as he was in the habit of expressing it, that "to pray well was the better half of study."

The experience of a deeper sensibility and of a higher order of religious thought had been commenced, a short time before he had finished his studies, by the discovery of a copy of the Bible in the University library. He was surprised and delighted with it—read it with avidity—and, time after time, returned to the charmed spot to read, over and over again, its precious truths. *Here is the embryo of the Reformation.* This blessed word, so long withheld from man, now discovered and beginning to take possession of the mind and heart of Luther, is making that lodgment from which it was afterwards to go forth, a resistless power, to deliver religion from the darkness and deformity and deadness in which it was now lying, and had lain for centuries.

After the mind of Luther had thus been directed to the word of God, and to some extent made acquainted with its precious truths, he is subjected to a series of providences, which increase his anxieties, and make upon his mind, more and more deeply, the impress of those truths. Such was a severe sickness suffered a short time after he had completed his collegiate course. Not long after this his life was placed in imminent danger from the accidental severing of an artery by a sword, which, according to a custom of the age, he was in the habit of carrying. At a later period he was much affected by the sudden and violent death of an intimate friend. By all these events his distress of mind had been increased until, as he expressed it, he was "encompassed with the anguish and terror of death"

His great anxiety now, from which he had no relief day or night, was to find peace with God, that he might be prepared for death come when and in what form it might. In

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accordance with common experience, it might be thought that God would now bring him directly to himself in Christ. If it had been for himself alone that Luther was undergoing this experience, such might have been the immediate issue of his anguish. But God was now schooling him for a work in which he was to be a benefactor to others. And one lesson which it was of essential importance he should learn, the truth of which should be written as with an iron pen upon his heart, was the vanity and uselessness, the utter inefficacy of the most approved observances of the church, of all deeds of austerity and self-denial, to appease a guilty conscience, or give rest to the soul bowed down under the weight of sin.

He had been taught to believe that holiness was best attained, and peace most perfectly enjoyed, in the monastic life; and, in his distress, he flees to a convent of the hermits of St. Augustine. There he now practices, for a time, all the rigors of ascetic life, and cheerfully submits to the most menial service of the convent—willing to bear any mortification, or make any sacrifice, that he might be made a saint. Writing on this subject afterwards, he says, "If ever monk could obtain peace by his monkish works, I should certainly have been entitled to it. Of this all the Friars who have known me can testify. If it had continued much longer with me I should have carried my mortifications even unto death."

Yet he found no peace. His soul was only preserved from despair by the occasional opportunities he had of studying divine truth in a copy of the Bible fastened to its place in the convent by a chain. While in this state of mind, he attracted the attention of Staupitz, the vicar general of the order, at this time on a tour of inspection with the view of reforming the Augustine monasteries. This man, one of the few godly men who appear in the church at the time, who deplored and was now endeavoring to correct the morals of the monks, was much affected by the case of Luther. He entered at once into his feelings, and, knowing his wants, directed him to the doctrines of grace as revealed in the Bible, and explained in the writings of Augustine. There

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Luther learned the doctrine of justification by faith. He does not appear, at first, to have comprehended this doctrine in all its depth and breadth and bearings. But he saw it to be the doctrine of the Bible, and received it into an honest heart, and, under the continued instructions of Staupitz, gradually obtained peace and joy in believing.

Shortly after this—on the 2d of May, 1507—Luther was ordained a priest. The following year Staupitz, who had now become warmly attached to him, commended him to the attention of the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, on whose invitation Luther became a professor in the University of Wittemburg. He was first called to the chair of Dialectics; but by his love of the word of God his attention was turned to the Greek and Hebrew, not yet studied by him, but which he now soon mastered, when he commenced lecturing on Biblical theology. Such were now his acquirements and ability that he soon became the great attraction of the University. Students flocked to hear him. And such was his eminence in the pulpit that the Council of Wittemburg invited him to become preacher of the city.

It might be thought that his qualifications for the work before him were now complete. But there was still another lesson to be learned, the truth of which was to be impressed upon his mind by the closest personal observation—*that of the entire corruption of the church.* It has been observed that he did not at first fully comprehend the bearings of the doctrine of justification by faith. He saw not yet how completely it subverted the whole papal system. Light on this subject came to him gradually. Nor does he appear, down to the time at which we now view him, to have had any adequate conception of the general impiety and profligacy of those who presided over and administered the papal religion. He had still a profound veneration for the church. He thought of Rome as the seat of all that was sacred and beautiful in religion. He thought of it as the source from which the pure waters of life were continually flowing out upon the world; and that all the impurities he beheld had been incidentally contracted in the different stages of their distant flow. It was necessary to the earnest prosecution

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of the work before him that he should be undeceived of this; that he should be brought to see how false were all these beautiful associations, so long and still so fondly cherished. For this purpose it was ordered in providence that he should go on an embassy to Rome. This was in 1512. That visit formed and settled his convictions as a reformer. He saw that the nearer the centre, the greater was the corruption of the system. He saw in Rome, in the Supreme Pontiff, and every order of the hierarchy under him, but an impiety and profligacy from which he turned away in indignation and disgust. At the same time, he received a more clear and animating view of the doctrine of justification by faith, as if by an almost miraculous communication of light from on high, when, in the lingering spirit of superstition, he was creeping up "Pilate's staircase on his knees." The faith of free and full pardon, solely on the ground of the merits of Christ, now entered his soul with such power and so completely possessed it, as to become the inspiring principle of his whole after life; that by which he maintained his own peace with God in all the trying circumstances through which he passed, and by the preaching of which he shook to their foundations the pillars of papal superstition.

Soon after his return from Rome he was transferred to the chair of theology in the University of Wittemburg. In the form of oath administered to every occupant of this chair, were these words:—"To defend the truth of the Gospel with all thy might." To many who had taken this oath before, there may have appeared nothing in its form to bind them to teach the truths of the Gospel, fully and faithfully, irrespective of human authority. To Luther, with the convictions that had now taken possession of his soul, and the tenderness of conscience that had been created within him, it was an awfully solemn engagement. As taken by him, it was an oath by which he was *bound* to be a reformer. He *felt* it to be so; and honestly and at once began a discharge of the duty which he understood it to impose. He faithfully presented and fearlessly maintained the great truths of the Gospel, so far as yet known to him; and this, not merely

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against the philosophies of the schools, which he overwhelmed with sarcasm, but the highest authorities in the church. His colleagues, Lupinus and Carlstadt, were soon brought over to his views; his commanding genius and force of character were acknowledged by all around him; all felt that a great man had appeared among them, raised up for a great work.

Thus did God lead him on, step by step, in the way of preparation, directing him with a hand visible at every important juncture, until he is brought to the knowledge, faith and love of the truth, and the highest order of qualifications for proclaiming and defending it; then hedging him in by circumstances, *binds* him by an enlightened conscience and a solemn oath to do the work of a reformer.

It is not pretended, in what has thus been presented, to have given all the interesting details of Luther's early life. Only those points of it most striking, because most marked by the hand of God, and which best serve to reveal the inner life of the reformer, and the true nature of the Reformation, have been given. In the same manner we must be content to view his public life and acts; fixing attention on some of the more interesting points in the gradual development of the great principles of the Reformation, so far as they were evolved by him.

What may be considered as the first public assault of Luther upon papal imposture, was on the occasion of a sale of indulgences to complete St. Peter's Church at Rome. The scheme of indulgences had been an invention of the dark ages, first employed by Urban II. to stimulate those who engaged in the Crusades; afterwards, it was employed to procure money for any project enjoined by the Pope, and had grown into a system in which sins of every name were classified in connection with a tariff of the prices at which they would be remitted, and was so administered by emissaries of the Pope in all parts of the church. In the conception of such a rite and the ordinary language in which it was dispensed, there was a boldness of irreverence and blasphemy at which the mind of Luther, by this time, could

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not otherwise than be shocked. But surpassing all ordinary boldness of this kind, was the language of those who now appeared for their sale in Germany. And most bold and blasphemous of them all, was the Dominican Friar and Apostolic Commissioner and Inquisitor, John Tetzel, who dispensed them in the vicinity of Wittemburg. Of great pretensions to sanctity, this man was a notorious profligate; he pressed the sale of indulgences upon the superstitious multitude that from day to day gathered around him, in terms of the most reckless impiety. In self-glorification he would say, "I would not exchange my privilege for those of St. Peter in heaven; for I have saved more souls with my indulgences, than he with his sermons." And of the efficacy of his indulgences he would say—*there was no sin they could not remit—they saved the living and they saved the dead—the very moment the money was received into his chest the soul for which it was given would escape from purgatory and fly to heaven.*

Luther beheld how the ignorant and confiding multitude were swayed by such language; how grossly they were deceived, and how outrageously they were defrauded; and his heart swelled with mingled pity and indignation. He first preached and publicly remonstrated against the abomination; then brought it to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities, particularly of the Bishop in whose diocese it was practised; but it was unabated; and no longer able to suppress his detestation and abhorrence of it, he goes boldly forth, and nails to the doors of the church his immortal theses.

The propositions to which he thus committed himself were in all ninety-five; prominently brought to view in them were the inefficacy of papal absolution, except in cases of mere ecclesiastical offence, and that the divine favor could only be obtained through faith in Christ and repentance of sin. And altogether, they incidentally, but unmistakably, traced the whole system of indulgences to papal superstition and imposture. It is probable that the nature and effect of these propositions were not fully comprehended by

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Luther himself at this time. He did not then see how far his affirmations reached. He was not yet prepared to renounce the authority of the Pope, or the church under him as hopelessly corrupt. He still clung to both. But the great truths he had enunciated, and pledged himself to maintain, were such as struck at the very basis of the papal superstructure, and the maintenance of which would certainly and completely overthrow it.

Tetzel, foiled in his traffic, raised against Luther the cry of an inquisitor; but it was of no avail. The rage of the Dominicans, and the interpositions of the Pope, the efforts of his Legates, at first to dissuade, and then to intimidate—the details of which we cannot now take room to give—were *all* of no avail. Luther stood undaunted. Although, as intimated, he may not yet have comprehended the entire effect of his propositions, he was thoroughly convinced of their truth; and *back of his convictions* no earthly power could drive him.

His propositions unrecalled, spread with astonishing rapidity. "In a fortnight," says Myconius, a cotemporary historian, "they were in every part of Germany, and in four weeks they had traversed nearly the whole of Christendom, as if the very angels had been their messengers and had placed them before the eyes of all men."

And as astonishing were the effects. The subtleties of philosophy, the dogmas of the schools, the spell of superstition, and the prestige of the Pope, were all struck as with a thunder-voice from heaven. Luther himself now trembled at the effect, when he saw all Germany electrified, and unmistakably moving in the incipient stages of a tremendous convulsion. But he shrunk not from the responsibility of the stroke. He was willing, in deference to an authority which he still respected, to modify the tone of his propositions, so far as it could be done without infringing their truth; but this, *their truth*, he continued only the more earnestly and mightily to maintain, against the school-men, against the ecclesiastics, against the Pope.

The result of his discussion, in this first stage of his re-

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forming work, was to bring prominently and favorably before the mind of Germany the great doctrine of justification by faith, and to bring in question the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff.

The next important advance was made in what is known as the Leipsic discussion. A distinguished defender of the church, Dr. Eck, of the University of Ingoldstadt, challenged the Professors of Wittemburg to a discussion with him of grace and free-will. It was accepted by Carlstadt, and for some time carried on in polemical writings. Afterwards, at the suggestion of Eck, it was arranged to have the discussion oral; to be held at Leipsic, June, 1519.

Thither, at the appointed time, the parties repaired. Melancthon was with the Faculty of Wittemburg here, but does not appear to have taken any part in the discussion. The opening speech was made by Carlstadt, and so far as the discussion was conducted by him, it was confined to the subjects proposed, Grace and Free-will. At length Luther ascended the platform, when Eck, who had no doubt been observing him closely, and impatiently waiting for him, raised a point touching papal authority,—a subject in connection with which the name of Luther was now well and widely known. The design was, no doubt, to embarrass him; to raise an issue which it was thought he would not there and at that time have the hardihood to join; but how much he had mistaken the character of Luther in this, the sequel will show.

In his appearance on this occasion, as described by Ranke, "Luther was of the middle size; at the time so thin as to be mere skin and bone; he possessed neither the thundering organ, nor the ready memory stored with various knowledge, nor the skill and dexterity acquired in the gladiatorial exercises of the schools, that distinguished his opponent. But he stood in the prime of manhood, and in the fulness of his strength. He was in his thirty-sixth year. He was perfectly versed in the Bible; and its aptest sentences presented themselves unbidden to his lips; above all, he inspired an irresistable conviction that he sought the

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truth. * * * * * He displayed the intrepid and self-forgetting earnestness arising from the depths of a conviction until now unfathomed even by himself. He drew forth new thoughts, and placed them in the fire of the battle with a determination that knew no fear, and no personal regards."

His opponent in maintaining the authority of the Papacy, threw himself chiefly upon the opinions of Latin fathers, and the decrees of Councils. Luther, for a time, met him with arguments drawn from like sources. But growing bolder as he grew warmer, he bore himself away, and the question with him, from all such reliance—*denied the infallibility of Councils*, and carried the appeal directly to the Scriptures, as the only infallible authority in matters of religious faith and practice. And when his opponent, surprised and discomfited by the very boldness of Luther, made the question personal, and charged upon him the "Hussite heresy"—to a sublimity of courage, only surpassed by an after-exhibition at Worms, Luther still rose, and there on the borders of Bohemia, that now placed its glory in the burning of Huss and the persecution of his followers; at a university founded in opposition to the spirit and doctrine of Huss; in the presence of princes and people *all* committed against him; and, it is said, of delegates from Bohemia who had come to watch the developments of this discussion—there and in that audience, he boldly assailed the Council that had condemned Huss, not merely as fallible, but as having condemned with him "principles fundamentally Christian."

The results of this discussion were a great advance in the progress of the Reformation. It was in effect to completely emancipate the mind of Luther from the authority of the Papal church. When he began to preach against indulgences, he considered himself as but assailing the malpractices of those who trafficked in them, and some of the principles of the later schoolmen. He appears to have thought that the supreme authority of the church would be with him. When undeceived in respect to the Pope, he had asserted the superiority of Councils. Now he is eman-

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cipated from the delusion of the infallibility of Councils. The Scriptures alone stand out before his mind as the supreme and only infallible authority in religion; and such as every man has a right to approach and interpret for himself.

On these great truths, the sole and supreme authority of Scripture, and the right of private judgment, Luther now rested his cause.

The next important advance of the Reformation is seen in the series of stirring events which terminated with the appearance of Luther before the Diet of Worms. His bold avowals at Leipsic terminated all conciliatory measures to reclaim him. It was now conceived that he and his doctrine must be suppressed by a sudden and decisive stroke. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, 1520, a bull came thundering from the Vatican at Rome, condemning his writings and declaring against him sentence of excommunication, unless he recanted within sixty days. There had been a time when this anathema would have terrified any heart. In the middle ages, from a Gregory or an Innocent, it was the terror of kings. They might affect to despise it, but they were always dismayed by it. And even at the time now contemplated, when papal power had suffered a noticeable decline, there were few who would not be overwhelmed by it. It was the distinction of Luther to have become superior to all such terror. Without affectation, and without an emotion of dismay, he could treat it with the utmost contempt. He accepted it only as the token of the settled hostility of the Pope; and made it the occasion of renouncing formally and forever allegance to the Church of Rome. Assembling the professors and students of the University, and marching at their head in procession to the gates of the Castle of Wittemburg, and kindling a bon-fire, he indignantly cast into its flames the papal bull, and with it the canon law of the church, and some of the more odious writings of the schoolmen.

The significancy of this act was not to be misunderstood. *Luther defied the Pope.* So it was understood; and in much excitement did the people of Germany begin to range them-

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selves on the different sides of the conflict. Luther had already strong hold of the popular mind, and this last, and, as yet, most daring of his acts, had the effect of exciting a still more general and lively interest in him and his cause. A second bull soon followed; but it had no other effect than to increase the popular flame.

The commotion had now become so serious as to attract the attention of the Emperor; and a Diet of the empire is called at Worms, before which Luther is summoned to appear. This Diet was held in April, 1521. The conduct of Luther on this occasion, as has been intimated, was the noblest of his acting in all the great deeds of his life. No other man than he would have obeyed that summons, in the face of the dangers that encompassed him, and in disregard of all the admonitions which the history of papal violence and treachery arrayed before him. Just in this way, in the preceding century, had Huss been entrapped and consigned to the flames. The friends of Luther reminded him of this, and of the many bitter and powerful enemies he would have to encounter, and plead with him not to obey the summons. But he felt that he had a great duty to perform in confessing Christ before the assembled dignitaries of his country; and neither the tenderness of friends, nor the terrors of enemies, could restrain him. The response in which his great soul went forth, was:—"Huss was burnt, but not the *truth* with him; I will go, though there were as many *devils* in Worms as there are tiles upon the houses." While on his journey, many still discouraged him; but he went on, "Strong in the Lord and in the power of his might." He entered Worms breathing the strong confidence, "God will be with me." When summoned before the Diet, and his books were paraded before him for acknowledgment and retraction, he calmly reviewed them, and neither the terrors of Rome, now brought to bear against him in their most appalling forms, nor the terrors of the empire, upon the edict of whose assembled princes his life now hung, could draw from him a word that would contradict, or even ignore any of the great truths of which he had written. There he stood, the very impersonation of moral heroism, closing his

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address in these memorable words:—"Unless I am refuted and convinced by proofs from the Holy Scriptures, or by plain, lucid and evident arguments, I yield my faith neither to the Pope nor to the Councils; for it is clear as the day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Until so convinced, I cannot and will not retract; for it is neither safe nor expedient to act against conscience. *Here I stand; I can do nothing otherwise. God help me. Amen.*"

Luther was allowed to retire in safety; but before the Diet adjourned his doctrines were condemned, and he was placed under the ban of the empire. The effect, however adverse it may have appeared at first, really proved most favorable to his cause. It brought it prominently before all Christendom. It made him the idol of Germany. From that time he could move the popular mind at his will. It also put his cause in new and better relations. From that time forward the Reformation is to be viewed as a movement outside and independent of the Papal church; and the work that was done as of the nature of a reconstruction of the church on a scriptural basis.

In this he was assisted by Melancthon, one of the ripest scholars and loveliest characters of the Reformation. Although acting a less conspicuous part, Melancthon was as evidently a chosen instrument of God in the work of reformation as was Luther. It was the peculiar work of Luther to assail and destroy the strongholds of superstition; in this he had no equal. But when the work of demolition had been done, so far as he had been chosen to do it, and the work of reconstruction commenced, a different order of powers was called into requisition. Here the highly-cultivated and well-balanced mind, the clear and enlightened views, the critical acumen and ripened judgment of Melancthon were eminently useful. Luther was sensible of this, and was free to acknowledge it, and committed to Melancthon the preparation of all the more important papers required in maintaining their cause. Melancthon was preeminently the scholar and theologian of the German Reformation; and by the work which he accomplished in this

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capacity, as well as by the restraining influence which his mildness and moderation often exerted upon the impetuous mind of Luther, he acted a part of scarcely less importance than that of Luther himself.

After the foundations of a reformed religion had been truly and deeply laid in the principles evolved by Luther, and put in form by Melancthon, the work passed into other hands, and its advancement appears in what was afterwards known as the Reformed Church in distinction from the Lutheran; that in which Zuingle and Calvin are conspicuous actors.

Zuingle was, in fact, a cotemporary with Luther. Unknown to each other, they commenced the work of reformation in their respective countries about the same time. While the voice of Luther sounded over the plains of Germany, that of Zuingle was echoing among the mountains of Switzerland. To both, the great animating principles were justification by faith, and the supremacy of the Scriptures as the rule of faith; the principal difference being in the application of these great truths; that of Zuingle being more complete, sweeping away at once every form and ceremony of the papal system that conflicted with the scriptural principles he had brought to light.

Calvin, after he had settled at Geneva in 1541, entered into the labors of Zuingle, and from that time became the ruling spirit of the Reformed Church. Embracing the great doctrine central to the systems of both Luther and Zuingle, he carried it out in all its important relations and bearings; and, in so doing, evolved in their order and necessary connection those doctrines of grace with which his name has been associated in all ages since; and restored to the government of the church, the primitive and scriptural order of Presbytery.

These advances were in some respects against the mind of Luther. In restraining the fanaticism of some of his colleagues, Carlstadt and others, he was led to be intensely conservative in his later life. But he did not cease from his labors in maintaining what he believed to be the truth

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and the right in the work of reformation. By preaching in season and out of season, and by writings in number astonishing, his labors continued to be enormous so long as his strength remained. He closed his eventful life in his native village, in the triumphant faith of the doctrines he had proclaimed, on the 18th of February, 1546.

And whatever may have been the work of those who followed him, the world should never be allowed to forget how much it owes to him for the blessings that are now abroad in it. He was the chosen and honored instrument of breaking the spell of papal authority in which the church and the world had lain enthralled for centuries, and of restoring to us the Bible with all its priceless treasures of social, civil and spiritual blessing. *Honored be his name.*

Above all, let us not forget the God of Luther, who raised him up for this work, and protected and prospered him in it; whose hand is visible in every part of it; and who in it has given us a new and irresistible demonstration of the truth of our religion, of its divine origin and saving efficacy. *Hallowed, ever blessed be his name.*

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SHORT NOTICES.

I. NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley & Charles A. Dana. Vol. XII. *Mozambique—Parr.* Vol. XIII. *Parr—Redwitz.* New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1861.

In most particulars this work is all that could be expected. Usually it is accurate, and full, and impartial, especially on all matters peculiarly important to Americans. In no work of the kind will the reader find more satisfactory information on such topics as coal, iron, cotton, railroads; magnetism, optics, photography; New York, Papal States, Paris, Poland, &c., &c. But as we have formerly observed this Cyclopædia is not altogether unexceptionable. While some important articles on religious subjects are all that the evangelical reader can desire, others are evidently written by opposers of a pure Gospel. In the twelfth volume we find Thomas Paine's moral character whitewashed, so that one unacquainted with his life might infer he was greatly esteemed to the last by such men as Washington and Franklin. Articles of this objectionable character are, however, we believe but few. Two more volumes will, according to the prospectus, complete the work. We quote the article on PITTSBURG, in which the United Presbyterian Thelogical Seminary is not mentioned among the institutions of the place.

"PITTSBURG, a city, and the capital of Allegheny County, Penna., situated at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, which here form the Ohio, in lat. 40

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deg., 26 min., 34 sec. N., long. 80 deg., 2 min., 38 sec. W.; population of the city proper in 1840, 21,115; in 1850, 46,601; in 1860, 49,216, or including the suburbs, 115,000. The densely built business portion occupies the extremity of the peninsula between the two rivers, which meet at an angle of about 33 deg., and the outskirts extend along the banks of each stream, having between them a cliff 300 feet high, which thrusts itself forward from the table land in the rear. On this elevation, which is known as Grant's Hill, are the reservoirs that supply the city with pure water from the Allegheny river. Pittsburg is styled the "smoky city" on account of the heavy clouds of smoke which constantly hang over it, produced by burning bituminous coal in all dwellings and manufacturing establishments. This is the great shipping port for coal for all parts of the Mississippi Valley. The amount shipped during 1860 was 1,600,000 tons. The Monongahela river, from whose banks the coal is obtained, has been improved by slack-water dams and locks so as to render it navigable in all seasons. There are sixty-five companies engaged in mining, 3,500 men employed in the mines, and more than $1,000,000 invested in improvements, and $350,000 in coal tugs for towing the coal to market. The value of coal lands is from $400 to $800 per acre. From the first Pittsburg has been a manufacturing city. In articles of iron it is surpassed by no city in the Union. There are now twenty-three large iron and steel works in operation, which consume more than $7,000,000 worth of material annually—such as pig-iron, blooms, scrap-iron, coal, coke, fire-clay, &c. They employ about 6,000 hands, and their annual product amounts to $12,000,000. The value of nails, spikes, and rivets alone for 1857 was $3,000,000, and blister, plough, and cast-steel, $2,000,000. Other articles of manufacture are axles, vices, springs, crow-bars, sheet, bar, and boiler iron, gas pipe, &c. There are sixteen foundries of the yearly capacity of 45,000 tons, consuming pig-iron, coal, coke, fire-brick, and other materials, to the value of $700,000 annually, employing 800 hands, and producing castings to the value of $1,250,000. An immense cannon foundry is in operation, which supplies

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heavy ordnance for the government. The great "Union" gun, the largest in the world, cast here in January, 1861, weighed 49,050 lbs. There are machine shops, manufactories of boilers, shovels, ploughs, axes, safes, cutlery, files, wire, rifles, guns, and revolvers. About 350 steam engines are built here annually. Among other establishments are two copper smelting and rolling mills employing 300 hands, six cotton mills employing more than 1,000 hands, nine white lead factories, and a large number of glass factories. In 1857, there were thirty-four glass houses, employing more than 2,000 hands, consuming annually $2,250,000 worth of materials, and making $3,000,000 worth of glass. Steamboats are built here for all western and southern rivers, and the number of boats now (1861) owned in the city is 167, with an aggregate burden of 26,974 tons. The value of flat-boats used for carrying coal to market (where the boat is always sold) is about $250,000 per annum. The whole commercial and manufacturing product of the city in 1850 amounted to $50,000,000, in 1860 to near $100,000,000 The most imposing public buildings are the Court-house and new Roman Catholic Cathedral. The latter is the largest building of its kind in America, except the Cathedral at Montreal. Many fine shops and warehouses are built entirely of iron, which is one of the best and cheapest materials in use. There are about 115 churches in the city and suburbs. The city is connected with Allegheny city, on the opposite side of the Allegheny river, by four bridges, one of which is a railroad bridge, and a suspension acqueduct for canal purposes. One of the finest suspension bridges in the world was erected here in 1860. Two bridges connect the city with Birmingham and Sligo on the Monongahela side. The railroads in operation are the Pennsylvania Central, the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, the Cleveland and Pittsburg, the Pittsburg and Connellsville, and the Allegheny Valley. The Pittsburg and Connellsville railroad is completed to Connellsville, sixty miles, and is destined to extend to Cumberland, Md., on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The Allegheny Valley railroad is intended meet the New York and Erie railroad at Olean, and 44

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miles of it are in working order. The Steubenville and Indiana railroad is party completed west of Steubenville, O., and is nearly ready for the iron between Pittsburg and Steubenville. The Chartiers Valley railroad, connecting Pittsburg and Washington, Penna., thirty miles in length, is partially graded. There are four city passenger railroads, three of which are in active operation. The city has an excellent system of public schools, and is the seat of the Western Theological Seminary of the Old School Presbyterian Church; the Western University of Pennsylvania; two commercial colleges, an insane asylum, an observatory, and a marine hospital. There are two public libraries containing about 6,000 volumes. There are ten or eleven newspapers, including two in the German language, and the city has a well-supported theatre. There is a U. S. arsenal situated here, containing a large supply of heavy ordnance. There are six banks of issue, with an aggregate capital of $4,300,000, and eight banks of deposit, beside savings banks and private banking houses.

"The early history of Pittsburg, or Fort Pitt, as it was formerly called, is full of interest. It was first subject to Great Britain, then to France, then reconquered by the English. The English claimed title to the territory under a charter from the crown, strengthened by a treaty with the Iroquois; the French laid claim on the ground of discovery. In February, 1754, the English commenced building a stockade at the river junction, but were driven from it in April by a French force under Captain Contrecœur, who proceeded at once to erect a fort, which he called Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada. This fort at once became the great centre of all the military operations of the French in this part of the country, and its commanding position rendered its restoration to the English a matter of the first importance. Accordingly, in 1755, Gen. Braddock, at the head of the largest expedition that had ever crossed the Alleghenies, was sent to recapture it. On July 9, 1775, he was met and defeated by the French and Indians at a point on the Mononghela, twelve miles above the fort.

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Twelve of the British soldiers taken prisoners on that occasion were burned by the savages. A force of 800 men, under Major Grant, was cut to pices in a second attempt to take the fort, October 15, 1758; but a third, by 6,000 men, under General Forbes, Nov. 25, 1758, was successful,—the French, disheartened by the failure of several attacks on the advancing army, having abandoned and set fire to it on the day preceding. A new and large fort was built about Jan., 1759. It was called Fort Pitt in honor of the British minister. Several expeditions were fitted out against it by the French, but they all failed. In 1764 the first efforts were made towards building a town. In October, 1772, the post was abandoned by the English. A controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as to the boundary line, was the subject of much negotiation, and gave rise to ill-feeling between the two States, Virginia claiming the territory on which the city stands under a charter from James I., and Pennsylvania under a charter from Charles II. A company of Virginians took possession of the fort under an order from the Virginia Convention, Aug. 11, 1775. On August 31, 1779, commissioners appointed by the provinces met in Baltimore, and agreed upon the boundary, which was duly ratified by their respective legislatures. During the excise troubles of 1791—'4, Pittsburg was the scene of much violence. It was incorporated as a borough in 1804, and chartered as a city in 1816. In 1845 a conflagration destroyed the entire business quarter, consuming $5,000,000 worth of property."

II. A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures: for the special benefit of Junior Theological Students; but intended also for Private Christians in general. By Alex. M'Clelland, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12 mo., pp. 336.

About one-third of this volume is devoted to canonical

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questions; the remainder treats of hermeneutics. The following maxims of interpretation are considered and applied at length:—1. The object of interpretation is to give the precise thoughts which the sacred writer intended to express. 2. The method of interpreting Scripture must be the same which we employ in explaining any other book. 3. The sense of Scripture is (in general) one; in other words, we are not to assign many meanings to a passage. 4. The interpretation of Scripture requires suitable preparation. The following special rules are laid down and illustrated by numerous references to the Scriptures:—1. Carefully investigate what is called the "*Usus Loquendi;*" or the meaning which custom and usage attach to expressions. 2. Examine the parallel passages. 3. The consideration of the Author's scope greatly facilitates interpretation. 4. Examine the context. 5. We must know the character, age, sect, and other peculiarities of the writer. 6. Let there be a constant appeal to the tribunal of common sense. 7. Study attentively tropes and figures of the sacred Scriptures. 8. Attend to Hebrew and Hebraistic forms. 9. Much of Scripture being prophetical, we should acquaint ourselves with the nature and laws of that kind of composition. 10. Allow no interpretation that will cast a shade of doubt over the perfect purity of our Lord's teachings or those of his apostles. 11. We must endeavor to obtain reasonable certainty, that the printed text gives the true reading of our book; and for this purpose must study and apply the art of criticism. Although these topics have been handled by many writers, we think all who read this book will feel that there is much freshness, as well as ability, in the book. Dr. M'Clelland does not drive his "wheel in another man's rut."

In his introduction, the author makes some remarks on the importance of biblical students being thoroughly acquainted with the ancient languages that deserve attention. Smatterers in Greek and Hebrew find no mercy at his hands. He says:—"We blush to think in how many respects the children of the world are wiser than the children of light.

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The merchant's clerk, if his interest point that way, will sit down and master French, Spanish and German, without heaving a sigh. The gentleman who intends to travel a few years in the East, grudges no pains to make himself acquainted with Turkish, Arabic, or Lingua Franca. Even the girl scarcely in her teens, wearied of thumming on her guitar to the harsh strains of her native English, determines, and carries the purpose through in a way that might astonish many a grave student of the other sex, to achieve a conquest over the sweetly-flowing Italian. But the professed interpreter of God's holy word, the legate of the skies, is so astounded at the thought of learning effectively a pair of languages—than either of which a finer never vibrated on the human ear—that he prefers to live and die just able to spell the letters of his commission!"

We agree with Dr. M'Clelland that the fault is often attributable to our literary institutions rather than to the young men themselves. There is generally too little drilling at the outset of the student's career, and too much haste in graduating. How humiliating to see a graduate of a college who is scarcely able to pronounce, without hesitancy, a verse in the Greek Testament, enter the Theological Seminary! However slow and toilsome thorough study may seem to some young men who are anxious to enter upon the ministerial work, we assure them that they commit a great mistake by hurrying lightly over the original languages of the Bible. There is nothing like going to the fountain-head and drinking the uncontaminated waters.

III. The Province of Reason: A Criticism of the Bampton Lecture on the "Limits of Religious Thought." By John Young, LL.D., Edinburgh, Author of the "Christ of History." New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1860. 12mo., pp. 305.

Do any of our readers love to revel in speculations concerning the Infinite, the Absolute, and the Unconditioned?

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Do they like to see a tilt among the metaphysical Anaks? We advise them to devote a few sittings to this well-merited and sharp criticism of Mansell. Dr. Young's pages, though treating of the hardest abstractions, are generally clear as a sunbeam, and his logic is powerful. He contends that Mr. Mansell's views are not deducible from the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton; that the Bampton lecture, so celebrated, is not a safe guide, either in philosophy or in theology; is not accurate in its reasonings, and not philosophical in its conclusions and its spirit. While, in general, Sir William is defended, some of his errors are pointed out. Dr. Young's aim is to show the true sphere of reason; and, in doing so, he is led into important discussions concerning logic, the philosophy of the Unconditioned, written revelation, morality and moral sense, reason and faith.

IV. Outlines of Theology. By the Rev. A. Alexander Hodge, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1860. 8vo., pp. 522.

The author of this volume is a son of Dr. Charles Hodge, who, for forty years, has been one of the chief ornaments of Princeton Theological Seminary. In instructing his classes in theology, Dr. Hodge is in the habit of giving a list of questions on the principal points of his lectures. With the permission of the father, the son has here used the list of questions given by Dr. Hodge to his classes of forty-five and six, with such omissions, additions and different distributions as the present purpose demanded. Although, we believe, Dr. Hodge has since prepared another course of lectures, this volume may, doubtless, be taken as a fair exponent of Princeton theology,—a fact of much interest to many. The author has also largely drawn from various published articles of the father. The citations from, and references to other authorities are numerous, and often valuable. We are much pleased with the work. With re-

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markable brevity and clearness the truth is stated, the leading arguments in proof are given, and erroneous views refuted. It is fully up to the times. On controversial topics it presents as fair and exhaustive a statement of the doctrines of the different schools as perhaps can be found in any work of the kind. It is an excellent syllabus for theological students, and ministers may find in it such definitions and arguments as will assist them in preparing doctrinal discourses.

V. A COMMENTARY, Critical and Grammatical, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a Revised Translalation. By Charles J. Ellicott, B.D., Professor of Divinity, King's College, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. And an Introductory Notice, by Calvin E. Stowe, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: W. F. Draper 1860. 8vo., pp. 183.

This commentary proceeds upon the sound principle, that nothing should be elicited from the text but what is yielded by the fair and grammatical explanation of the language. To those who have a critical knowledge of Greek Grammar, and who have a relish for the most minute and painstaking criticism of the original text, it will be of much value; to all others it will be nearly useless. It deals with the inspired word of God with becoming reverence. Prof. Stowe pronounces the author "more patiently laborious than any other living New Testament critic, with the exception, perhaps, of Tregelles."

Professor Ellicott is of an old Devonshire family, and was born in 1819. He studied at the grammar schools of Oakham and Stamford, and afterwards entered St. John's College, Cambridge, of which society he became a Fellow in 1844. He was for some years Rector of Pilton, Rutlandshire. In 1856, he returned to Cambridge for the sake of literaey advantages. Two years later he was appointed to the professorship of Divinity, King's College, London, which office he still holds. He has published a volume of

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sermons on the "Destiny of the Creature," (Rom. viii. 19, &c.) He has also published commentaries on all the epistles of Paul, except Romans and Corinthians, on which he is now engaged.

VI. Essays and Discourses, Practical and Historical. By C. Van Rensselaer, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 821 Chestnut St. Price $1 00.

This volume embraces a number of Miscellaneous sermons, and also several historical contributions having special reference to the controversy between New and Old School Presbyterians. Our readers need not be told that Dr. Van Rensselaer was a very zealous Old School man. He bestowed special care upon this work during the last two months of his life, and desired it to be placed, as his last gift, at the disposal of the Board of Publication. Honored for piety, fidelity and zeal, above most of his fellows in his denomination, this last volume from his vigorous and graceful pen will doubtless be highly prized.

VII. Prerequisites to Communion. The Scriptural Terms of Admission to the Lord's Supper. By Rev. Albert N. Arnold, D.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1861. 12mo., pp., 121.

A clear and comprehensive statement of the position of the Baptists on the subject of communion, and the reason why they do not hold fellowship with other denominations at the Lord's table, with an answer to the objections usually made against their views. It is a book with some points of special interest to United Presbyterians.

VIII. Memoir of Thomas Fowell Buxton. Embracing a Historical Sketch of Emancipation in the West Indies, and of the Niger Expedition for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. By Mary A. Collier. Published by the American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill, Boston.

Thomas F. Buxton was one of England's true noblemen,

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who by force of intellect, earnest piety, and large philanthropy became distinguished as a member of Parliament, and won the warm friendship of such men as J. J. Gurney and Wm. Wilberforce. He was distinguished for his eloquent and heroic efforts in behalf of reforms in the prison discipline, and criminal code of Great Britain, the suppression of the African slave trade, the abolition of the barbarous practices of the suttee in India, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and other important objects. In the cause of emancipation, he was the acknowledged leader. His life is full of interest, particularly to those who love liberty and reform. A capital book for the Sabbath-school library.

IX. Missionary Life in Persia. Being Glimpses at a Quarter of a Century of Labors among the Nestorian Christians. By Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D. With Illustrations. Published by the American Tract Society, Boston.

We had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Perkins during the meeting of the American Board in Philadelphia, two years ago; and we then formed a high opinion of him as a man of ability and worth. He left this country in the year 1833, as the pioneer missionary to the Nestorians of Persia, among whom the Gospel has achieved much success. His life has been very eventful, and his lucid narrative has, therefore, the double charm of thrilling incidents and remarkable victories of grace. We have been deeply interested in it, and we cannot imagine that any of our readers can peruse it without instruction and gratification. It is admirably adapted to the Sabbath-school library, while it is also worthy of the attention of the matured and well-informed reader.

X. The Class of 1831. Jefferson College, Pa. A Memorial by D. X. Junkin, D. D. Published by request of the Alumni Association. Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven. 1861.

A very interesting sketch, in verse, of old Jefferson and her professors thirty years ago, and of the class of 1831.

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We are glad to see that the alumni of Jefferson are taking a greater interest in commencement-days than was formerly the case. The graduates of every college owe it to their *Alma Mater*, and to the cause of literature, to make the commencement anniversary a day of intellectual and friendly enjoyment.

XI. A CONCISE SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY; Or, the Basis of the Shorter Catechism, By Alex. Smith Patterson, A.M., author of the "History of the Church." With an Introduction paper by Duncan Macfarlan, D. D., Renfrew. Pittsburg: United Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 396.

This is among the first issues of the Board of Publication of our Church which we have had the good fortune to receive; and we hail its appearance with real satisfaction. It is an excellent work, and, as a publication of our own Board, should be widely circulated among a people, one of whose characteristics is, that its Catechism has a prominent place in the instructions of the fire side, the Sabbath-school, and the pastor's visitations. It is neatly bound, and is in a convenient form. The only regret we must express is, that the type is not as large and distinct as we would like for a Household Book.

XII. A SHORT CATECHISM for Young Children. By John Brown, of Haddington.

A full list of the Catechisms that are used in our churches and families is published by our Board. They are well printed, and we believe can be procured on cheaper and better terms than can be found in any other place. For example, while one of the best Publication Houses in the country sells Brown's Explication alone for ten cents, or one dollar and twenty cents per dozen, our Board will furnish the two Catechisms and Address to the rising generation for seventy-five cents a dozen—nearly double the matter for a little more than half the price. Surely such publications will be encouraged and sustained by our own people.

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XIII. THE CROOK IN THE LOT; Or, A Display of the Sovereignty of God in the Afflictions of Men, and the Christian's Deportment under them. By Rev. Thomas Boston. Pittsburg: United Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 176. 1861.

This well-known and useful book bears the name of our Board on its title page. It is in quite good type, on clear white paper, and is presented to the public in an attractive form. It is a book that will carry instruction to any house it enters, and will administer consolation to any afflicted heart that carefully reads it. Its preface contains an interesting account of the life and character of its excellent author.

XIV. WORKS OF THE PURITANS.

The third volume of Nichol's republication of these invaluable works has been received, and is ready for delivery by Dr. Rodgers at the United Presbyterian Book Rooms. The present volume contains some of the best of the writings of Goodwin. I. An Exposition of the Book of Revelations; II. A Child of Light Walking in Darkness; III. Return of Prayers; IV. Trial of a Christian's Growth; V. The Vanity of Thoughts. The writings of the Puritans ought to be in every theological library. With some faults of style peculiar to the age in which they were written, they are laden with the very marrow of divinity. They have not the conciseness of some modern productions, but they have a richness and copiousness of thought that will amply repay the most patient reading. They are the productions of men who were the theological giants of their day.

NOTICE.—The first number of the next volume will not be issued until April next. Then, it is hoped, this publication which hitherto has been but an experiment, will be put on a permanent basis, with a reliable list, and a full corps of writers.

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